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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

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Vol. XX. 1929-30.

EDITED BY

HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M O.L., D. Litt.,

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 7, l 26 —For Kasmīra read Kasmīra
 „ 13, l 7 of G —For Bhatidēvā read Bhatidevā
 „ 22, l 26 —For mahāvī[hā*]re read Mahāvī[hā*]re
 „ 23 l 11 —For Tambapamna read Tambapamni
 „ 32, l 38 —For (G l 12) read (H l 12)
 „ 35, l 17 —For Aśoka read Aśōka
 „ „ penultimate line —For China read Chīna.
 „ 36, l 17 —For Nāharāllabōdu read Nāharāllabōdu
 „ 39 l 8 —For he read the
 „ 41, f n 3 —For hould read should
 „ 45, penultimate line in translation of Verse 1 —For fishes (engraved) read maharas (wrough)
 (suggested by Dr A Coomaraswamy —ed)
 „ „ l 2 in translation of Vv 4-6 —For asif read as if
 „ „ l 3 „ „ V 9 —For coplous read copious.
 „ 47, l 35 —For Parāntak n read Parāntakaṇ
 „ 48, l 25 —For latter read later
 „ „ l 36 —For Vēlūrāpālayam read Vēlūrpālayam
 „ „ l 2 of f n 5 —Insert (before Stambha)
 „ 49, l 6 —Insert * after Aparājita
 „ „ f n 5 —For Tillasthānam read Tillasthānam
 „ 50, col 4 in the table —For Prithvīpatī I read Prithvīpatī L
 „ „ l 1 of f n 3 —For Varaguna read Varaguna
 „ 51, penultimate line of the letterpress —For Ilamperungāy- read Ilamperunkāy-
 „ 53, l 5 of translation —For th esun read the sun,
 „ „ l 5 of text of C —For 1-ppon read i-ppon.
 „ 56, l 29 —For writer read writers
 „ 58, l 30 —For karamisra read karamisra
 „ 61, l 2 of f. n 5 —For Nātha-śarmā read Nāthaśarmma
 „ 63, f n 7.—For mahimatām read mahimatām
 „ 65, l 10 —For Gōvinda-Bhatta read Gōvinda-Bhatta
 „ 66, l 20 —Omit be
 „ „ f n 1 —For Hebbal read Hebbā!
 „ „ f n 6 —For elonged read belonged
 „ 67, text l 24 —For bhatta- read bhatta-
 „ 68, text l 43 —For mukhyarggam read mukhyarggam
 „ 69, f, n 4 —For साधवेदिजितेन्द्र्य read साधवेदिजितेन्द्रिय
 „ 70, l 2 of translation of Ll 46-48 —For Vāranāsī read Vāranāśī
 „ 79, text line 6 —For Rāja=s[u]jā[m] read Rājas[ū]jā[m]
 „ 83 l 2 —For Kalīngapatanam read Kalīngapatanam
 „ 86 l n 5 l 3 —For Bhattojī read Bhattōjī
 „ 87, f n 11 —For For nstance read For instance

- Page 88, f n 6 —For D P J read K. P J
 „ 89, l 5 of translation of l 15 —For Sindhulā read Sindhulā.
 „ 90, f n 2 —For Viramitrōdaya read Viramitrōdaya
 „ 91, l 6 —For Yaśōdharachariyā read Yaśōdharachariya.
 „ 92, l 16 —For Gīrnar read Gīrnār
 „ 95, translation of Ll 19 ff —For Paramēśvara read Rājcparamēśvara
 „ 96, „ 28 ff —For Kānūr- read Kāṇūr.
 „ 97, l 2 —Insert a comma after Samkara-setti
 „ 99, text l 7 —For अष्टादशवे° read अष्टादशवे(वे)°.
 „ „ text l 11 —For देवुवके read देवुवक
 „ 102, text l 25 —For Dakṣi(kṣi)na-pa(pā)li- read Dakṣi(kṣi)napa(pā)li-
 „ 103, text l 41 —For Bhu(Bhū)mī -read bhu(bhū)mī-
 „ „ text l 42 —For -samkā read -śankā
 „ 104, text l 45 —For Hara[n*]= read hara[n*]=.
 „ „ f n 13 —For utkīrnnāṇ° read utkīrnnāṇ°
 „ 110, l 5 —For Yogēśvara- read Yōgēśvara-
 „ 112, l 32 —For Vira-Pāṇḍya read Vira-Pāṇḍya

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XX.

1—PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM A BUDDHIST SITE AT NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY PROFESSOR J PH VOGEL, PH D, LEIDEN

In March 1926 Mr A R Sarasvati, Telugu Assistant in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras, made a discovery of great interest at the hill of Nāgārjunikonda which belongs to the Palnāḍ taluk of the Guntūr district of the Madras Presidency¹ The hill, which is described as a big flat-topped hill some 200 acres in extent, overhangs the right bank of the river Kistna or Kṛishnā, the Kannapennā or Kānnavannā (Skt *Kṛishnavarnā*) of Pali literature, at a distance of some 15 miles from Mācherla and on the border of the Nizām's Dominions The top of the hill shows traces of fortifications, now in ruins The find of a Buddhist sculpture led to the discovery of three vast mounds of large bricks in different parts of the valley, each, apparently, marking the site of a *stūpa* In the vicinity of these mounds marble pillars were found, some of them standing erect in rows Several more were reported to be scattered in the neighbouring villages and on the other side of the river Among the pillars left on the site there were three, one on each mound, bearing inscriptions in Prakrit and in Brāhmī characters

At the request of Dr Hīrānanda Śāstrī, Government Epigraphist, I undertook to edit the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica* A set of excellent estampages prepared under instructions from that officer, reached me in September 1926, but it was not until the end of that year that I could find the necessary leisure to decipher and study them Early in March 1927 Dr Hīrānanda Śāstrī informed me that trial excavations carried out on the site of Nāgārjunikonda by Mr Hamid Kuraishi, then officiating as Superintendent of Archaeology in the Southern Circle, had yielded no less than eighteen more inscriptions and that their estampages would be sent to my address, in case I should be willing to edit them I gladly consented to undertake this laborious but attractive task As, however, there was a likelihood of the recently discovered inscriptions being of some help in elucidating doubtful points in those found previously, I suggested that the epigraphical finds of Nāgārjunikonda might be best dealt with in one article Dr Hīrānanda Śāstrī accepted this proposal and in October 1927 supplied me with a complete set of estampages admirably executed

During the cold season of 1927-28 the excavations at Nāgārjunikonda were continued under the supervision of Mr A H Longhurst, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle These explorations have resulted in the discovery of a number of very remarkable Buddhist sculptures some of them bearing inscriptions The style which they exhibit is clearly that of

¹ A preliminary account of the discovery will be found in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1926*, Madras, pp 4 and 92 f. Cf also *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1926*, Leyden, 1928, pp 14-16.

Amarāvati, although perhaps they cannot boast of the high artistic merit which we admire in the best work from that place. Among the sculptural decoration of the two pillars discovered by Mr Longhurst there are figures which clearly betray Roman influence. The full report of his excavations will be received with the greatest interest. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa represents, next to Amarāvati, the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in Southern India. The results which Amarāvati might have yielded have, for a large part, been irreparably lost owing to the deplorable vandalism perpetrated on that monument more than a century ago. It is all the more gratifying that the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is now being systematically explored so that no piece of evidence is likely to be overlooked. Mr Longhurst estimates that the complete excavation of the site will require three years more.

When in February 1882 Dr Burgess excavated the site of the Jaggayyapeta *stūpa*, on the Pālēr river, a tributary of the Krishnā and about four miles north of their junction, he chanced upon three inscribed pillars, bearing each an identical dedicatory inscription in Prakrit¹. These epigraphs record the gift of five *āyaka-khambhas* at the eastern gate of the Mahūchetiya or Great Chaitya by a certain artisan (*āvesanī*) Siddhattha in the twentieth year of King Mādhariputa Śrī-Virapurisadatta of the Ikshvaku dynasty. The corresponding form in Sanskrit would be Māthariputra Śrī-Virapurushadatta. Dr Burgess expressed the opinion that the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions "belong to about the third or fourth century A D, but are possibly earlier." Dr. Bühler², while editing them, placed the reign of King Purisadatta in the third century of our era, and "before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Vengi."

The position of such *āyaka*-pillars on the monument to which they once have belonged becomes perfectly clear from the *chaitya*-slabs which have been found in such remarkable numbers on the site of Amarāvati. These *chaitya* slabs exhibit the effigy in relief of a *chaitya* or *stūpa* in all its details, in other words, they represent the great monument which they once adorned. Now, one of the most prominent features of the main edifice—a feature not met with, as far as we are aware, in other parts of India—is a row of five columns surmounting a kind of projecting balcony which seems to form part of the procession-path running around the body of the monument. These pillars invariably occupy a position right opposite the entrances to the sacred enclosure, and as the stone railing surrounding the sanctuary has an entrance on each of the four cardinal points, it follows that the monument, when entire, must have had four sets of such pillars. They do not appear to have had any structural function as supporting members, but, besides carrying well-known Buddhist emblems, they were utilised for dedicatory inscriptions, as have been noticed at Jaggayyapeta. The word *āyaka-khambha* mentioned in these epigraphs is evidently the technical term by which they were known³.

There can be little doubt that the great *stūpa* of Amarāvati, when entire, was decorated with such pillars, but only a few fragments have been recovered⁴. In the case of the monument of

¹ J Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887, pp 110 f, plates LXII and LXIII. Cf H Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos 1202 1204 (*Ep Ind.*, Vol X, app, pp 139 f), G Bühler, *Indische Paläographie*, p 44.

² *Ind Ant.*, Vol VI (1882), pp 256 ff.

³ The word *āyaka* occurs also in the compounds *dakṣiṇ-āyaka* (Burgess, *Amaravati, etc.*, p 86, pl. LX, no 47) and *utār-āyaka* (*ibidem*, p 93), which have been rendered "the south entrance" and "the northern gate." It is questionable whether this translation is correct. The word "gate" is rendered by *dāra* (Skt *dvāra*). Most probably the word *āyaka* indicates that part of the monument where the *āyaka khambhas* were placed.

⁴ Burgess, *op cit.*, pl XLV, 1-4. The finest specimen is the square lower end of a pillar decorated on the four sides with as many Buddhist symbols—a *stūpa*, a *bōdhi*-tree, a *chaitya* hall, and a wheel. There is an inscription in four lines beneath the figure of the *stūpa* (pl LX, no. 47) in which the pillar is called *chetiya-kha* [?] *bhō sadhādulo*.

Jaggayrapeta three inscribed specimens were found, only one of them being complete. These, as we have seen, must have belonged to a set of five such pillars which were placed on the east side. Dr. Burgess noticed large pillars or stelæ at three of the sides of the *stūpa*, but it would seem that those found on the other sides were uninscribed.

The explorations at Nāgārjunikonda have brought to light no less than seventeen specimens of *āyala*-pillars, all inscribed. In thirteen cases the inscription is complete or nearly so. The technical execution of these epigraphs is as remarkable as the state of their preservation. Evidently, these pillars once served the purpose of adorning the main monument of the site, mentioned in the inscriptions under the name of Mahāchetiya (Skt. *Mahāchaitya*), i.e., the Great Chaitya. It is clear that here, too, there must have stood a row of five such pillars at each of the four cardinal points, their total number being twenty. The original position which each of the seventeen columns so far recovered once occupied, could still be ascertained. A complete list of the inscriptions will be given below.

The mound which covered the ruins of the Mahāchetiya is nowadays known by the name of Nibagutta. Close to the east side of the great monument the excavations revealed the remains of an apsidal temple containing a small *chaitya* as an object of worship. The floor of this shrine retains the record of its foundation in an inscription (E) of two very long lines, remarkably well preserved.

At a distance of about a furlong to the east of the Great Chaitya there is another mound called Nāharālabōdu. According to Mr. Longhurst, this site contains the most important group of monastic buildings, including a large monastery built of brick and plaster, and the remains of two *stūpas*. At the side of the former building were found the remnants of another apsidal shrine or *chaitya*-hall. Here, too, a long inscription (F), incised on the floor of the temple, was found to be the record of its foundation.

There is a third mound known by the name of Itikarālabōdu to the north-west of the Great Chaitya and at a distance of about two furlongs from it. Here a number of stone pillars, apparently still occupying their original position, indicate the existence of another ancient building. From the inscription (G) found on one of these pillars (this inscription is one of the three recovered in March 1926), it appears that the edifice in question was a *vihāra* somewhat later in date than the buildings previously noticed. If this conclusion is correct, the stone pillars may have formed part of the verandah enclosing the central court-yard of the convent.

A third *vihāra* must have stood in a locality now known as Kottampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikonda. Here, too, the record of its foundation is inscribed on a stone pillar. The inscription (H), which is one of the three copied in March 1926, is probably the latest in date, the writing being smaller and less distinct than in the case of the earlier inscriptions.

The Jaggayrapeta inscriptions, as we have noted above, are dated in the twentieth year of the reign of a king who calls himself Mādharīputa Ikhākunam Sirī-Virapurisadata. The epigraphical records now recovered on the Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikonda refer to the same Ikhāku dynasty of Southern India. They mention not only Mādharīputa Sirī-Virapurisadata,¹ in whose reign the principal sanctuaries of this locality were founded, but also his father, Vāsithīputa Sirī-Chāntamūla, and his son and successor Vāsethīputa Sirī-Ehuvula-Chātamūla.² In a passage which occurs in several of the inscriptions the former is eulogized as a performer of the

¹ This is the usual spelling of the name. The more correct form Sirī Virapurisadata occurs in inscr. G.

² It is somewhat difficult to decide whether Chāntamūla or Chātamūla is the correct form of these two names. In some cases there appears to be the sign of the *anusvara* over the ā. We may, therefore, assume, that elsewhere it has been omitted by mistake.

Vedic sacrifices Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēya and Aśvamēdha. It follows that Siri-Chāmtamūla was a devotee of Brahmanism. His son, Siri-Virapurisadata, though partaking in the religious merit, does not seem to have had an active part in the foundation of the religious monuments of Nāgārjunikonda. They owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikshvaku and evidently devotees of the Buddhist faith.

The principal founder was a lady called Chāmtisiri¹ (*siraṇikā in inser B 3) who is praised for her munificence in a passage which recurs in not less than nine of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions. In these inscriptions she is called the uterine sister of Siri-Chāmtamūla and the paternal aunt of Siri-Virapurisadata. She was married to the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātālavara* Vāsithīputa Kamdasiri of the Pūkiya² family, and, in consequence, she herself bears the title of *Mahātālavari*. Moreover, she is called the mother of Khamdasūgarannaka. In one of the pillar inscriptions (B 5) it is distinctly stated that it was she who erected the Great Chaitya of the Great *Vihāra* or Monastery. It is curious that here the instrumental plural (*mahātālavarīḥ* . . . *Chāmtisirimāḥ*) is employed, but it will be noted that several ladies of that name took part in the donation. Or, can it be a *pluralis majestatis*? The date regularly found at the end of the pillar inscriptions—the sixth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season, the tenth day—marks, no doubt, the time when the great monument was consecrated. Chāmtisiri was, moreover, the foundress of the apsidal shrine (No I), built opposite the eastern or principal side of the Great Chaitya³. This is distinctly stated in the long inscription (E) cut on the floor of that building. In this document the edifice founded by Chāmtisiri is designated first as a *chetiya-ghara*, and subsequently as a stone *mandapa* surrounded by a cloister (*chatusāla-parigrahitam sela-mantaram*)⁴. The building was dedicated to the *āchāryas* of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect. The time of the dedication is expressed by the date found at the end of the inscription—the eighteenth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of winter, the fifth day. The date is given both in words and in figures.

It deserves notice that in the earlier inscriptions Chāmtisiri is called the paternal aunt (*pituchhā*)⁵ of the reigning king, whereas in the later inscription (E), noted above, she refers to the king as her son-in-law. It would seem that Siri-Virapurisadata between the 6th and the 18th years of his reign had married the daughter of his aunt and consequently his cousin.

Two of the pillar inscriptions (C 2 and 4) mention another sister (*sōdarā bhaginī*) of King Siri Chāmtamūla, whose name was Hammāsiri or Hammāsirinikā, and two of her daughters named Bapisirinikā and Chhathisiri. Both these princesses were married to the reigning king, their cousin, and consequently bear the title of *Mahādēvi*.

The same title of *Mahādēvi* is borne by a lady, Rudradharabhatārikā, whose name occurs in the inscription on the fifth pillar of the southern row (B 5). It may be concluded that she, too, was a consort of the reigning king, though in the inscription she is not expressly designated as such. She appears to have been a princess from Ujjain (Skt Ujjayinī), the well known town in Central India, if at least we are justified in correcting the reading *Ujanikā mahārabaḥkā* of the text into *Ujenikā mahārāja bālikā*. Among the rulers of the house of Chashtana, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, whose capital was Ujjain, we find a certain preference for personal names containing the name of the god Rudra, such as Rudradāman, Rudrasēna and Rudrasimha. This renders it

¹ Here, too, there prevails some uncertainty whether the name is Chāmtisiri or Chātisiri.

² Inser E has *Pūkiya*.

³ The eastern side being the principal side of the Great Chaitya, it is significant that the three *āyaka*-pillars recovered on that side of the monument were all dedicated by Chāmtisiri.

⁴ In Sanskrit *chatusāla parigrahitam sela mandapam*.

⁵ Pali *pituchchhā*.

all the more plausible to assume that the Queen Rudradharabhatārikā mentioned in the inscription belonged to that illustrious house

The pillar inscriptions acquaint us with three more noble ladies who were associated with Chāmtisiri in her pious foundation. The one mentioned on the second pillar of the south side (B 2) is called Adavi (?)—Chā[m]tisiri. The inscription calls her the daughter of King Siri-Chāmtamūla, the sister of King Siri-Virapurisadata, and the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Mahādandanāyaka* Khamdavisākhamraka (= Skt. Skandavisālha) of the house of the Dhanakas. She herself is distinguished by the title of *Mahātālārī*.

The other lady, who was the donor of the fourth pillar of the southern row (B 4), is called Chula-Chā[m]tisirinikā, i.e., Chā[m]tisirinikā the Less or the Younger, the adjective *chula* evidently being added to distinguish her from her namesake, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya. The junior Chā[m]tisirinikā, as stated in the inscription, was a daughter of the Kulahakas and the spouse of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Vāsithīputa* Khamdachalikremmaraka of the Hiramākas. She herself bears the title of *Mahāsēnāpatī*.

The fifth pillar of the western side (C 5) was dedicated by a lady whose personal name is not mentioned, but who is called the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Vāsithīputa Mahākandasiri* of the Pūkiyas and the mother of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Vinhusiri* (=Skt. Vishvasrī). She is, moreover, distinguished by the title *Mahātālārī*. If we may assume that Mahākandasiri and Kandasiri are one and the same person, it would follow that the anonymous lady of the pillar-inscription C 5 was a co-wife (*sapatnī*) of Chāmtisiri.

We must now consider the two separate pillar-inscriptions G and H which, as we have noted above, must belong to a somewhat later date. The inscription G is found on one among a number of pillars, decorated with lotus-rosettes, which were found standing about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. Mr. Longhurst informs me that the tops of these pillars are each provided with a mortice evidently meant to receive the beams of a wooden roof. This would well agree with our supposition that these stone columns once belonged to the verandah enclosing the central court of the *vihāra*. The inscribed stone shows several cracks running through the inscribed surface and the letters are worn owing to exposure.

The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvi* Bhatidevā who is called the daughter-in-law of Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the wife (?) of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the mother of a *Mahārāja*, whose name appears to be Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla. The three syllables which we read—*huvula*—are uncertain. The same is the case with the one or two initial syllables of the word following the name Siri-Virapurisadata, so that it is doubtful what relation existed between that king and the lady Bhatidevā. The word in question, however, can be hardly anything but *bhayāya*. Thus it would follow that Bhatidevā was the consort of the king. The last two lines of the document seem to have contained a date, but unfortunately this part of the inscription has been obliterated to such an extent that our reading must be regarded as conjectural. Evidently the *vihāra* was founded during the reign of Bhatidevā's son, the *Mahārāja* whose name is mentioned in the inscription.

The inscribed pillar of Kottampalugu is also the foundation record of a *vihāra*. The foundress was a *Mahādēvi* who was the granddaughter of Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the daughter of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the sister of *Mahārāja Vāsithīputa* Siri-Ehuvula-Chā[m]tamūla. It is, moreover, stated in the inscription that she was the consort of the *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsa. Her personal name is somewhat indistinct but may be read as Kodabalasiri. It will be noted in the sequel that Vanavāsa, the ancient name of North Kanara, occurs also among the countries which in the *chautya* inscription F are stated to have been converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese monks.

The pillar inscription of Koṭṭampalugu is dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Siri-Ehuvu]-Chā[m]tamūla

The historical information furnished by these inscriptions regarding the three rulers of the Southern Ikshāku dynasty, whom they mention, is very meagre. Siri-Chāmtamūla is extolled in a passage which recurs in several of the inscriptions but which appears to be entirely conventional. It has been pointed out above that the king must have been an adept of Brahmanism. From the expression *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitana*, which is applied to Chāmtamūla, it may perhaps be concluded that he was a votary of the god Mahāsena or Skanda, "the lord of the Virūpakhas." The term Virūpakha (=Skt. *Virūpākṣha*) seems to be used here to indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the lord and leader.¹ Dr. Bühler's assumption, based on palaeographical evidence, that Siri-Virapurisadata flourished in the third century of our era, may be accepted as probably correct.

Although the inscriptions tell us nothing about the *facts et gestes* of these kings, it is interesting to meet with a line of rulers, settled in the Telugu country, which claimed descent from Ikshāku, i.e., Ikshvāku (=Skt. *Ikshvāku*), the mythical progenitor of the famous Solar dynasty of Ayōdhyā. It is well known that not only Rāma belonged to that illustrious house, but the Buddha, too, is called a scion of the race of Ikshvāku (*Pali Oḷkāla*). It is clear, in any case, that these Southern Ikshākus were rulers of some importance, as they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the *Mahārājas* of Vanavāsa, but also with the kings, presumably the descendants of the Satrap Chash-tana, who resided at Ujjayinī in Central India. The nomenclature of these Southern Ikshāku kings, coupling their personal names with metonymies like Mādharīputa and Vāsīthīputa seems to be a practice borrowed from the earlier rulers of the Āndhra dynasty. It will hardly be necessary to quote the instance of Vāsīthīputa Siri-Pujumāyī and Gotamīputa Sātakaṇṇi. On the other hand, there are in these inscriptions certain expressions which are also found in the Prakrit copper-plate grants of the early Pallavas, as will be pointed out in our glossary.

There are two more points to be noted in connection with these kings. We see that the name Chāmtamūla, borne by the father of Siri-Virapurisadata, re-occurs in the name of the latter's son. This seems to point to the custom of naming a child after its grandfather, which, as far as we are aware, is not an indigenous practice in India.² It further deserves notice that among the consorts of king Siri-Virapurisadata we meet with two of his cousins.

Chāmtāsiri, the sister of king Chāmtamūla, was married to a personage who bore the titles of *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātālavara*. The same is stated with reference to other princesses of the ruling house. The title *Mahāsēnāpati* (lit. "great chief of the army" or general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of *rāshtras* or districts under the Āndhras, and the same meaning may perhaps be assumed here. The word is, therefore, to be taken as a title of nobility. We may compare the Anglo-Saxon *heretoga* (Dutch *herzog*, German *herzog*), which etymologically means an army-leader, but has become a title of nobility. The word *mahāsēnāpati* could, therefore, be best rendered by "duke."

The curious term *mahātālavara* which is also met with in other inscriptions of Southern India, must likewise denote a high dignitary whose exact function, however, is not clear. The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word, but seems to be a term borrowed from some

¹ The word *Virūpākṣha* (=Skt. *Virūpākṣha*), indicating a class of snakes, occurs in an ancient snake-charm. *Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, p. 110, *S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

² [This custom was known to several ruling families of ancient India, such as the Gupta, the Vākātaka, the Chālukya and the Pallava. (*Cf. V. Smith, Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 125). Besides, as shown by the *Mahābhārata*, I. i. 1. विप्राय तस्य ये दधः पुद्गलास्तान्पुद्गलयन्निधत्ते°, it had a *śāstric* sanction behind it.—Ed.]

Dravidian language ¹ Evidently it penetrated also into Northern India, for there can be little doubt that it is identical with the mysterious word *taravara* which, coupled with *mahāpreṭihāra* (= "a great chamberlain") is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated by the late Dr Bloch at Basārḥ, the site of ancient Vaiśālī. This document belongs to the Gupta period. It was suggested by Dr. Bloch that the word *tarila*, which occurs in lists of officials in mediæval copper-plate charters, may quite well be a corrupted form of *taravara* ²

In the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikonda not only frequent mention is made of persons bearing the title of *mahātalaivara*, but they also contain the feminine form *mahātalaivari* (more correctly **talavari*) indicating the wife of a *mahātalaivara*. In the same way the consort of a *mahāsēnāpati* bears herself the title of *mahāsēnāpatinī* (Skt **sēnāpatnī*). It is found in B 4 (15)

A third official title, which occurs in B 2 (14), is the well-known term *mahūdandanāyaka*. The early use of this expression is also attested by a fragmentary inscription, found at the village of Māt in the Mathurā district, which contains the name of King Huvishka.

The first apsidal shrine (No. I), as we have seen, was dedicated by Chāmtisiri, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya, at the foot of which it is built. The other building of this type, on the contrary, as stated in the inscription F on the floor, was raised by a simple *upāsikā*, Bodhisiri by name, who does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikshvākus. Her relatives, who were to share in the merit of her pious enterprise, are enumerated at great length. They include a *Kothāḷārila* (Skt *Kōshthāgārila*), either a treasurer or, perhaps, a superintendent of a royal store-house ³

The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Next comes the date which unfortunately is incomplete. This much is certain that the inscription is dated in the fourteenth regnal year of a king Mādhariṇi, who in all likelihood is identical with the Mādhariṇi Sri-Viṣṇusādāta of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions of Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikonda. The shrine is further stated to have been dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kasmīra (Kashmir), Gandhāra, Chīna, Chīlāta (=Skt *Kirāta*), Tosali, Avaramta (=Skt *Aparānta*), Vamga (i.e., Bengal), Vanavāsi (i.e., North Kanara), Yavana (?), Damila (?), lūra and the Isle of Tambapamni (i.e., Ceylon). Some of the countries are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* among the territories which had been converted to Buddhism after the Third Council, namely, Kasmīra and Gandhāra, Vanavāsa, Aparantaka and Yona ⁴. We may also compare two passages in the *Mūlindapañha* mentioning a number of

¹At the end of the Kondamudi copper-plate grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.) the late Dr Hultzsch read *Mahātalaivarena mahādandanāyakena Bhāpahanavammēna laṭaṭa*. There can be little doubt that *mahātalaivarena* is a mistake, due either to the scribe or to the engraver, for *mahātalaivarena*. This term occurs also in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription found at the village of Allūru, in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna district. Cf. *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97 and *A. S. R.* for 1923-24, p. 93.

We must leave this question to the decision of students of South-Indian languages. Can the word have any connection with Tamil *talavāy* (= a general), Tamil *talavāyāri* (= a village watchman), or Canarese *talavara*, *talavāra* (= a watchman, a beadle) ? [The *mahātalaivaras* are mentioned in early Jaina literature along with 18 Ganarājās. So *mahātalaivara* must be taken as a title of nobility. Cf. *Kalpasūtra* (ed. Jacobi, Leipzig 1879) 61, ll. 21-25. The *Subōdhikā*, a Sanskrit commentary on it by Vinayaviṇaya (Śrīṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, leaf 60, ll. 6-7) explains the term *talavara* thus: *talavarāḥ tushṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭabandha-cākhāṣitā Rājasthānīyāḥ*. In the Punjab there is a sub-division of high class Khatrias (= Sanskrit *Kshatriyas*) which goes by the name of Tālwar.—Ed.]

² *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, p. 108, No. 16, plate XL, 6.

³ Cf. *koṭhāḷa* in Sohgaura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 237) and *bhāṭṭāḷārila* in Nāśik inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 1141).

⁴ *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. xii. Cf. *Dīparameśa*, Ch. viii.

regions which used to be visited for purposes of trade ¹ In these two passages the first countries mentioned are Saka-Yavana and Chīna-Chilāta The printed text has Vilāta, but, as has been pointed out by Professor Sylvain Lévi,² this is an error for Chilāta The Chilātas are the same un-Aryan tribe often met with in Sanskrit literature under the name of Kīrāta In a well-known verse of the *Pañchatantra* they are characterized as dishonest traders We find them, moreover, referred to both in the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy The former says "Beyond this [Dōsarēnē], the course trending towards the north there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cīrhadæ, a race of men with flattened noses, very savage" Ptolemy locates them along the Gulf of Bengal, "beyond the Ganges mouth called Antibolei" Their country is said to produce the best *malabathron* (*tamālapattram*) In his chapter on Trans-Gangetic India (VII, 2, 15) the same author describes the Tilādaī (V 1 Pilādaī), also called the Saesādaī, as hairy dwarfs, with a flat face and a white skin Evidently this passage too refers to the Kīrātas, the name Tilādaī (Τιλάδαί) being an attempt to render in Greek the alternative form Chilāda ³

It is very interesting to meet here with the name Tosali It will be remembered that Aśōka's two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauli are addressed to the Governor and the magistrates (*Mahāmātras*) of Tosali "This enables us to locate Tosali in Kalinga James Prinsep identified it with the "Tosalei metropolis" of Ptolemy, although this place is located in the regions beyond the Ganges We may, perhaps, connect the name Tosali with the Dōsara of Ptolemy and with Dōsarēnē, the name of a country beyond Masalia mentioned in the *Periplus* The name Dōsarēnē is usually explained to be the Greek rendering of Sanskrit Daśārṇa,⁴ but there are serious difficulties in the way of this identification. First of all, a Prakrit form of Daśārṇa, from which the Greek form must be derived, would certainly not have retained the *r* which we find in Dōsara and Dōsarēnē The long *ō* vowel of the Greek would also be difficult to account for Besides, the tribe of the Daśārṇa, as far as we can make out from Indian sources, appears to have been settled in Central India and not along the coast ⁵ On the other hand, Dōsara may have been a dialectic form of Tosala The *Periplus* states that Dōsarēnē yielded the ivory known as Dōsarēnic Hsien Tsang in his account of Kalinga says that it produced the great tawny wild elephant which was much prized by neighbouring provinces

Avaranta (Skt Aparānta) is the designation of the tract of the country lying along the western coast of the Peninsula, the capital of which was Sopārā According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, it was converted to Buddhism by Dhammarakkhita Aśōka mentions it in his Fifth Rock-Edict in connection with the appointment of Dharmma mahāmātas

Vaṅga is the ancient name of Bengal Vanavāsi, also mentioned as Vanavāsaka in inscription H, is North Kanara, the name being still preserved in Banavāsi, a village or small town in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State in latitude 14° 33', longitude 75° 5' The *Mahāvamsa* mentions Rakkhita as the apostle of Vanavāsa

The three words following Vanavāsi are uncertain The first one can be hardly anything but Yavana, the *al.shara* ya and *va* being still legible Next comes a name which I read tentatively as Damila, meaning the Tamil country The third word seems to consist of three *al.shara*, the second and third of which are clearly *lu* and *ra* It is tempting to restore the name as Palura, the town mentioned by Ptolemy and identified by Professor Sylvain Lévi with Dantapura, "the Town of the Tooth" on the coast of Orissa ⁶

¹ *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 327 and 331

² *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II, p. 24

³ Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24 Cf. *Bydragen*, sixth series, Vol. VI, p. 7, no. 2.

⁴ *Periplus*, transl. by W. H. Schoff, p. 253, and N. L. Dey, *Geogr. Dict.*, 2nd ed., 1927, p. 54, s. v. *Daśārṇa*.

⁵ Kāśyapa in his *Meghadūta* locates the Daśārṇas between the Vindhya and Vidyā.

⁶ *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. COVI (1925), pp. 40ff.; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV (1926), pp. 64ff.

The latter part of inscription F enumerates the various pious foundations—several of them evidently additions to existing buildings—dedicated by Bodhisiri, and mentions, moreover, the localities at which each of them was found. It is a point of considerable importance that this list includes “a stone *mandapa* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at Kantakasela.” Evidently this locality Kantakasela (Skt *Kantakāsaila*, lit “Thorn-hill”) must be identical with “the emporium Kantikossūla” which Ptolemy mentions (VII, 1 15) immediately after “the mouths of the Maisōlos.” It follows that the river known to the Greeks under the name Maisōlos has been rightly supposed to be the Kistna.¹ The country watered by the lower Kistna is consequently called Maisōlia by Ptolemy. The *Periplus* speaks (§62) of “the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country,” and adds that “a great quantity of muslins is made here.” The ancient name by which this part of Southern India was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the town Masulipatam.

We are perhaps justified in identifying it with the country which Huen Tsiang describes under the name of T'o-na-kie-tse-kia.² This seems to correspond to Dhaññakataka, Dhana-kataka (Skt Dhānyakataka), found in two inscriptions from Amarāvati.³ The country in question the Chinese pilgrim locates between the Āndhra country and that of the Chōlas, the latter being situated at a distance of some 1,000 *li* to the south-west. In the course of his description he says “The convents are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined, of those preserved there are about twenty with 1,000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle.”

Huen Tsiang further relates that to the east of the capital on a mountain there stood a convent called Pūrvaśilā and on a mountain to the west was another, called Avaraśilā. Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means “stone.” Now, it is worthy of note that among the localities mentioned in inscription F, we meet with the name Puvasela, which is clearly a Prakrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvaśaila. A name, meaning “Eastern Mountain or Hill,” may, of course, have been used at different places of India. But it is a point worth considering whether the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakataka, which archaeologists have sought both at Dharanikōṭa near Amarāvati and at Bezvādā.

Another point of interest is the mention of Sīrapavata (i.e., Sīrapavvata) in inscription F. The Prakrit word corresponds to Sanskrit Śrīparvata. Now, there is a tradition preserved in Tibet that Nāgārjuna spent the concluding part of his life in a monastery of that name in Southern India.⁴ If this convent is the same as the “*vihāra* on the Sīrapavata to the east of Vijayapuri” of our inscription, it would follow that the association of the great divine of the Mahāyāna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. We may confidently hope that these and other questions of great import will be finally settled by further systematic excavations.

Among the religious foundations enumerated in F, we wish to draw attention to the two monasteries, called Kulaha-*vihāra* and Sīhala-*vihāra*. The former appears to have owed its existence to the same noble family which is mentioned in one of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions (B 4)

¹ E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge 1928, p. 116.

² *Si-yu-ki*, trans. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff., Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

³ Prof. Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1225 and 1271. The form *Dhaññakaka* occurs in the Mayidavōlu copper plate grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman.

⁴ W. Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, Vol. I, pp. 220 f.

under the name of Kulahala. The other, if we may judge from its appellation, must have been a convent founded either by a Singhalese or, more probably, for the accommodation of Singhalese monks. This "Ceylonese Convent" appears to have contained a shrine with a Bodhi tree (*Podhi-rukha-pūsāda* = Skt. *Bōdhi-vṛkṣa-prāsāda*) which is, indeed, a necessary adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon up to the present day. Not only the mention of a *śāla* *rikhā*, but also the dedication of a *chetiya-ghara* to the *theriyyas* or "fraternities" of Tambapanni point to relations which must have existed between the Buddhist community of Mahāśāla and their co-religionists in the Isle of Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of the Island and Kanjakaśala, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kistna river.

This trade was, no doubt, also largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India. The devotees of the Good Law were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves, but also their royal masters, to raise monuments of such magnificence as the great *śūpa* of Amarāvati. Both Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonda are situated on the right bank of the Kistna, the former being situated at a distance of some 60 miles from the mouth of the river. Nāgārjunikonda lies considerably higher up the river, the distance between this place and Amarāvati being another 60 miles as the crow flies, but considerably longer by river. On the opposite side of the river we have Jaggayapeṭa, containing another monument of the reign of the Ikshvākus. The village of Allūru in the Nandigāma taluk of the Kistna district has yielded a fragmentary Prākṛit inscription, referred to above, which appears to record a donation to a Buddhist monastery. At the village of Gummadiduru in the Kistna district the remains of a large *śūpa*, adorned with sculptures in the Amarāvati style, have recently come to light together with the remains of monastic buildings. All these monuments attest to the piety and the wealth of the Buddhist community in these parts during the second and third centuries of our era. In the days of Huen Tsang the monasteries were mostly deserted and ruined. The collapse of Buddhism on the lower Kistna may have had various causes, besides the general wane of that religion all over India, there may have been economic agents at work, like the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West, which had caused vast quantities of Roman gold to pour into the Peninsula. There was also the conquest of Southern India by the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the Pallava in the South and the Chūlukya in the West.

In connection with Buddhism attention must be drawn to the mention of *śvet-rāma* in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions. In Nos. C 1, line 10 and E, line 2, the dedication is stated to be made for the benefit or acceptance of the Aparamahāvināśīyas. In both cases the sign for *ś* over the fifth *akṣara* is quite distinct so that we are not allowed to read *maḥāvana*, as was done by Drs. Burgess and Hultzsch in the case of an Amarāvati inscription.¹ The latter was inclined to associate the name with the Mahāvanaśālā at Vaiśālī, well known from the Buddha legend. The Amarāvati inscription in question, however, has certainly *Mahāvināśīyāna*. At the end of the fragmentary Prākṛit inscription from Allūru we read *ayrūna[m] Puvareli-ṣṭhāna[m] nūqāyasa* (Skt. *āryānām Pūrīśāṣṭhīyānām mahānasya*).

The Pali chronicles of Ceylon make mention of the *l'ubla*- and the *Aparavēlikas*, the two sub-divisions of the Mahāsaṅghikas.² The latter of those two expressions is perhaps an abbreviated form of the *Avaramahāvināśīyas* in our inscriptions. Can it be that the two sects,

¹ Burgess, *Amarāvati*, p. 105, No. 49; and Hultzsch, *§ D M. O.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 520 f., and XL, p. 314.

² *Mahāvamsa*, V, 12, and *Dīpaṅkara*, V, 54.

known as Pubba- and Aparasēlikas, originated from the two Buddhist convents of Pubbasēla and Aparasēla which, according to Huen Tsiang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital of Dharmakataka ?

The inscription G, line 8, contains the name of another Buddhist sect—Bahusūtiya—which corresponds to Pali Bahusuttīya (Skt Bahusrutīya). Besides, we have Ayira-hamgha (Skt *Ārya-sangha*) in C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 10, and Mahi[sā]saka (Skt Mahisāsaka) in H, line 12.

Language and Script

A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted. We find, moreover, that only in one instance it has been considered necessary to correct such an omission, i.e., in the word *Mahāchetiya* (E, line 1) where the *alshara* *hū* has been placed under the line. In other instances syllables have been repeated (C 2, lines 1 and 3), or interchanged (e.g., *ḥamḥan* for *ḥamḥam* in C 4, line 7). Very often the length of the vowels *ā* and *ī* is not marked. Even the name of the reigning monarch, Śrī-Virapurisadata, is written with *ī* instead of *ī* except in a very few cases where we find the correct spelling with *ī*. Much less frequently the long *ī* has been substituted for the short one, e.g., in *Mahāchetiya*. Considering the frequency of the omission of the *ī*-stroke, we have ventured to assume that this omission has twice taken place in the long compound *samana-bamhana-lavana-ianīa dīn-ā-nugaha-relānīa-dāna patibhāja lochhina dhāra-palāyī*, which re-occurs several times in the passage relating to the principal donor, Chāmtisiri. This compound, as far as we can see, does not yield an intelligible sense, unless we read *-dān-āpatibhag-ālochhina*, thus assuming that the two adjectives required here are *apa'ibhaga* and *ālochhira*. With regard to the latter word we may compare the use of the Sanskrit equivalent *avyarachchhinna* in the following line from the *Harivaṃsa* (verse 3580) where we read *avyarachchhinna dhār-aughāṇi samudr-aughā-samair-dhanāṇi*.

The sign for *dha* is sometimes substituted for that of *tha*, where a certain confusion seems to prevail between *tha* and *tha*. The looped characters *ta* and *na* are very similar and are not always clearly distinguishable. The same is the case with the *akṣaras*, the initial *a* and *su*.

The sign for *anusāra* too has often been omitted, while in several cases it is difficult to decide whether what appears to be a dot over the *alshara* may not be a depression in the surface of the stone merely due to accident. In consequence, there prevails a certain amount of uncertainty with regard to the correct form of the personal names Chāmtamūla and Chāmtisiri. In several cases where these names occur, there is no trace of an *anusāra*, but as in a few instances such a sign can be made out, we are perhaps justified in assuming that its non-occurrence is due to the inadvertence so noticeable throughout these records.

This want of precision becomes especially manifest if we compare the various redactions of the inscription recording the grant of a stele by the chief donor, the lady Chāmtisiri. It is clear that these redactions are all based on the same text, but none of them produces that text without some omissions or mistakes. We may refer the reader to the text of C 3 given below with the various readings found in the corresponding inscriptions.

It is difficult to say who is to be held responsible for the negligent treatment which we have noticed in these epigraphs. The additional passage found in two of the pillar inscriptions of Chāmtisiri, namely C 1 and 2, mentions a "Bhadanta Ānanda, carrier of the *Digha*- and the *Majjhima-nikāya*" who acted as the *navālamkāra* of the Mahāchetiya. In the case of the apsidal temple

and other religious works founded by the *upāsikā* Bodhisiri there were even three *navakammikas*, the *theras* Chāmdamukha, Dharmānandī and Nāga (F, lines 3 & 4) As the *navakammika* was the monk commissioned by the *Sangha* to superintend the foundation (*navakamma*) dedicated by some lay-member, his responsibility may be supposed to have extended also over the inscriptional records of the *deyadhamma*. It is, however, quite possible that the author of the inscriptions was some other learned member of the *Sangha*. We may perhaps assume that, the text of the inscriptions having been fixed, some copyist, either a *bhikkhu* or a professional writer, was employed to prepare one or more copies in the very ornamental writing of the period for the use of the stone-mason. At the end of inscription F we find the name of the stone-mason (*sela vaḍḍhāki*) Viḍḍhika recorded immediately after those of the three *navakammikas*. It must be admitted that, as regards its technical execution, not only this epigraph but also the sixteen *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions leave nothing to be desired. It is noteworthy that inscription H which, as we saw, must belong to a somewhat later period, shows at once a marked deterioration in technical skill.

With regard to the style of writing used in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription it will suffice to refer to the observations made by Dr Buhler with regard to the inscriptions from Jaggayya-peṭṭa.¹ Here we wish only to draw attention to the use of *la* in *Sihala*-, *talākam*, and *alamdā* in F, line 3, and to the occurrence of the following ligatures: *dra* in *Rudradhara*° (B 5, line 4), *nhā* in *sumnānam* (F, line 3), *nhu* in *Vinhūsisā*, *mha* in *bamhana* (A 3, line 6 etc.), *mhi* in *imamhi* (A 3, line 2) and *mahāchetiyamhi* (C 4, line 2 and X, line 8), and *tti* in *nattiya* (H, line 8).

The inscriptions contain the numerical symbols for one, three (F, line 1), four (F, line 1), five (E, line 2), six (*passim*), seven (F, line 3 and H, line 4), eight (E, line 2), ten (*passim*), seventy (B 5, line 6), and hundred (B 5, line 6).

As regards the language, the following peculiarities may be noted —

The *r* vowel is represented by *a* in *kavana* (Skt *kripana*) and *vasabha* (Skt *vrishabha*), but elsewhere, by *u*. Examples *bhatuno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhartri*-, *pituno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *pitri*-, *bhātuno* (F, line 3), *bhātunam* (F, line 2) and *bhātuputānam* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhrātri*-, *mātuya* (F, line 2 and G, line 7) from Skt. *mātri*-, *mahāmātukāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *mahāmātri*-, *dhūtuya* (F, line 3, H, line 9) from Skt. *duhūtri*-, *jām[ā]tukasa* (E, line 1) from Skt. *jāmātri*-, *mātuk[ā]* (C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 9) from Skt. *mātrikā*.

We notice *Svarabhakti* in *bhāriyā* (*passim*) from Skt. *bhāryā*; *mahāchetiya* (*passim*) from Skt. *achariya*, *achariya* (*passim*) from Skt. *āchārya*; *harisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *harsha*, *tarisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *tarsha*, *darisana* (F, line 1) from Skt. *darsana*; and *mahāsenāpatini* (*passim*) from Skt. *patnī*. Cf Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §135.

The *p* between vowels becomes *v*. Examples. *Avaramta* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Aparānta*, *kavana* (*passim*) from Skt. *kripana*; *uvāsikāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *upāsikā*, *uvarvamni[ṭam]* (F, line 3) from Skt. *upari*°; *th[ā]vutam* (F, line 3) from Skt. *sthāpūtam*; *Govagāma* (F, line 2) from Skt. *Gōpagrāma* (?); *mamḍava* (E, line 2) and *mamḍava* (F, line 3) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*.

The *media* is changed into the *tenuis*, in *loṭh[ā]kārika*° (F, line 2) from Skt. *kōshṭhāgārika*-, and *mamlava* (E, line 2) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*. But elsewhere *maṇḍava* (thrice in F). Cf also *deya-dhama-parichāko* from Skt. *parityūga*-, in the Allūru fragmentary inscription, line 14.

The *tenuis* has been changed into the *media* in *Pugiyāna[m]* (E, line 1), but elsewhere *Pūkīyānam* or *Pūriyānam*, and *sugḥāya* (G, line 10) from Skt. *sukha*-. Cf *niqūyasa* from Skt. *nikāya*-. in the Allūru inscription. As regards *Pūkīya* and *Pūgiya*, it is, of course, possible that the latter is the more correct and original form. May it be connected with Skt. *pūya* = "betel-palm" ?

¹ G. Buhler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 44

The initial *h* in some personal names appears to have been developed from *s*. Examples *Hammasiri* (C 4, line 5), *Hammasiripikā* (C 2, lines 5-6 and 7, C 4, line 7), *Haghamna* (F, line 2). Also, *Ayira-hamghāna* (C 1, line 11, C 2, line 10) from Skt *Ārya-saṅghānām*. But *saṅgham* (H, line 13) and *mahābhikkhu-sa[m]ghasa* (E, line 2)

We wish also to draw attention to the following forms *ayira-* (C 1, line 11, C 2, line 10) from Skt *ārya*, *bhayā* for the more usual *bhāriyā* from Skt *bhāryā*, and *Chilāta* (F, line 1) from Skt *Kirāta*

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

a Inscriptions on the āyaka-pillars of the Mahāchetiya¹

A 2 East side, second pillar One large and two small fragments The large piece contains lines 1—7 (*śidham* to =*vachchalā ma-*), line 7 being incomplete Besides, there is a gap on the right hand side by which several *alsharas* at the end of lines 2—4 and 6 are lost One of the smaller fragments supplies the initial *alsharas* of lines 6—10, and the other, a few *alsharas* of lines 7—8 The inscription, when entire, must have consisted of 10 lines, 24½ inches long It records the gift of a pillar by the *Mahātālavari* Chāmtisiri (name lost), the sister of King Chāmtamūla and the paternal aunt of King Siri-Virapurisadata Date lost

A 3 East side, third pillar Inscription in two pieces One large piece contains the inscription almost complete except the middle portion of lines 1—2 This missing portion is supplied by the smaller fragment containing 17 *alsharas* of the first line The inscription consists partly of 10 lines, 25 inches long It records the donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri (cf sub A. 2) Date, the 6th year of King Siri-Virapurisadata in last short line

A. 4 East side, fourth pillar Two large and one smaller fragment The one large piece contains ll 1—5, incomplete and partly obliterated The other contains lines 5—11, viz, the latter half of the inscription, almost complete, although partly indistinct The small fragment supplies the initial *alsharas* of lines 1 to 3 The inscription must have consisted of 11 lines, measuring from 21—22½ inches in length Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri (cf sub A. 2) Date as above sub A. 3 in last short line

B 1 South side, first pillar One fragment, containing lines 1—6 in their full length, but with central portion completely obliterated Length of lines 16 inches Name of donor and date lost

B 2, South side, second pillar Inscription complete in 7 lines, measuring 20 to 22 inches in length Gift of a pillar by the *Mahātālavari* Adavi Chātisiri, the daughter of King Chāmtamūla Date as above

B 3 South side, third pillar Complete in 10 lines, measuring 21 to 23½ inches in length A few *alsharas* at the end of lines 5—9 missing Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiripikā, evidently the same person as Chāmtisiri (cf. sub A. 2) Date as above in last short line

B 4 South side, fourth pillar Complete in 7 lines, 17½ to 22 inches Gift of a stone pillar by the *Mahāsenāpatini* Chula-Chā[m]tisiripikā Date as above in 6th and short 7th line

B 5 South side, fifth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 20 to 22 inches. Gift of a pillar by *Mahādevi* Rudradnarabhat[ā]rikā Date as above in last short line

¹ Besides the āyaka pillar inscriptions enumerated here, twenty three small fragments have been found which must have belonged to this class of inscriptions

C 1 West side, first pillar Two pieces the smaller piece, containing lines 1 to 6 (l 1 complete, l 2 with the first *alshara* missing, ll 3—6 incomplete), fits wedge-like into the larger one, which consists of ll 3 to 13, ll 3 to 6 supplying the missing portions of the upper piece The inscription, when complete, consisted of 13 lines, 21 to 23 inches long. Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri Date as above

C 2 West side, second pillar. Two pieces The larger piece contains ll 1—6 complete, besides the initial and concluding portions of ll 7—9. The smaller piece supplies the middle portions of these three lines and the remainder of the inscription, viz, ll. 10—12 entire Twelve lines, 19½ to 22 inches long Gift of a stone pillar by Mahādēvī Bapīśirīnikā, the daughter of Hammasirīnikā and wife of King Sīri-Vīrapurīśadatta. Date as above in ll 11—12, the concluding line being a short one

C 3 West side, third pillar Two pieces The smaller fragment has 6 lines, viz, l. 1 complete, whereas considerable portions of ll 2—5 are missing and only a few *alsharas* at the beginning of l 6 remain The larger fragment contains the missing parts of ll 2—6 and, besides, ll 7—13 entire Thirteen lines, 20 to 22 inches long Gift of a pillar by Chā[m]tisiri Date as above in last short line

C 4 West side, fourth pillar Complete in eight lines, 19 to 22 inches long Gift of a pillar by Mahādēvī Chhathisiri, the daughter of Hammasirī[nikā] and wife of King Sīri-Vīrapurīśadatta. Date as above in concluding line

C 5 West side, fifth pillar Complete in five lines, 19½ to 20½ inches in length. Gift of a stone pillar by the wife of Mahākāmdasiri Date as above

D 2 North side, second pillar One piece containing ll 1—5 complete, the initial and concluding portions of ll 6—7, the first six *alsharas* of line 8 and only one *alshara* opening line 9 The inscription must have recorded the gift of a pillar by Chāmtisiri Date lost

D 3 North side, third pillar Only a fragment containing ll 1—2 almost complete, and besides, a few *alsharas* of line 3 Date lost

D 4 North side, fourth pillar Complete in ten lines, 19½ to 21½ inches long Gift of a pillar by Chā[m]tisiri Date as above in last short line

X. Original position unknown Complete in nine lines, 24 to 25 inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri Date as above

b. Chetīya-ghara inscriptions.

E Inscription on floor of apsidal shrine, No I, immediately to the east of the Mahāchetīya. Inscription complete in two lines, measuring 14 feet 5 inches Average size of *alsharas* ½ to ¾ inch Inscription well preserved except first portion of the second line. It records the dedication of a *chetīya-ghara* or stone *mamtava* (Skt *manḍapa*) provided with a cloister (*chatusāla*) at the foot of the Mahāchetīya by the Mahātalavārī Chāmtisiri, mentioned in several of the āyala-pillar inscriptions, who here refers to King Sīri-Vīrapurīśadatta as her son-in-law, for the benefit of the Masters of the Apāramahāvīnaseliya sect Date, the eighteenth year of King Sīri-Vīrapurīśadatta.

F Inscription on floor of the apsidal shrine, No II, on the mound Nāharāḷlabōḍu, consisting of three long lines, 18 feet 4 inches to 19 feet in length, and of a fourth short line of 1 foot 9 inches. Average size of *alsharas* ¾ to 1 inch. The inscription is fairly well preserved, here and there some *alsharas* have been lost After a lengthy invocation of the Buddha it records the foundation of a *chetīya-ghara* and of various other religious edifices by an *uvāsikā* (Skt. *upāsikā*), named, Bodhisiri, together with her relatives, for the benefit of the fraternities (*theriya*) of the Ceylonese monks who had converted a number of countries which are enumerated at great length. Date, the fourteenth year of King Mātharīputa (=Sīri-Vīrapurīśadatta.?).

c Detached pillar inscriptions

G. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele decorated with carvings, at a distance of about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. It consists of ten lines of writing. The inscribed surface shows three cracks and the right hand portion damaged. Some three or four *akṣaras* at the end of ll. 1—5 are lost. Lines 9 and 10 are partly obliterated. The lines, when complete, must have been 15 inches in length. The average size of the *akṣaras* is $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The lettering has become worn owing to exposure to the weather. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Bhatidēvā, who was the wife (?) of King *Siri-Virapurisadata* and the mother of King *Ehuvula*(?)-*Chā[m]tamūla*. The date in ll 9—10 is no longer legible.

H. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele found at Kottampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikonda. It consists of fourteen lines of writing, measuring about 12 inches in length. The inscription is fairly well preserved, but here and there some *akṣaras* have become indistinct. The execution is fair, but less ornamented than in the earlier inscriptions. The size of the *akṣaras* is from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, they miss the long-drawn strokes of the earlier inscriptions and the lines are placed close together. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Koda[ba]ṣiṣi, who was the daughter of King *Siri-Virapurisadata*, sister of King *Ehuvula-Chā[m]tamūla*, and wife of the *Mahārāja* of *Vanavāsa*. It is dated in the 11th year of King *Ehuvula-Chā[m]tamūla*.

d Inscriptions on sculptures

J. Inscription along the lower edge of a frieze showing the adoration of the Wheel of the Law (first sermon at Benares) in the centre and an amatory couple or *mūhuna* on both sides. These three scenes are separated and flanked by railings. The frieze is supported by a row of crouching lions. The inscription consists of two lines, measuring 38 and 16 inches in length. The execution is fair and the preservation, satisfactory. The average size of the *akṣaras* is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha and records the donation of a slab and of a coping stone at the Mahāchetiya by an individual of the name of *Cihadakapavatacha* and by his housewife *Padumavāni* together with their sons and daughters. No date.

K. Inscription along the lower edge of a long sculptured beam found on the mound *Polugubōdu*. It consists of one line of writing, the beginning and concluding portions of which are almost entirely obliterated. The inscription, as far as preserved, measures nearly five feet in length. It records the donation of a slab (?) by a person whose name is lost, together with his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandsons, granddaughters, relatives and friends. The preserved portions contain no date.

TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 3.

The text of the *āyaka*-pillar inscription recording the donation of such a pillar by *Chā[m]tisiṣi* occurs in nine redactions, namely, A 2, 3 and 4, B 3, C 1 and 3, D 2 and 4, and X, seven of which are complete and two (A 2 and D 2) are incomplete. In C 1 there is an addition at the end, whereas in X the invocation of the Buddha opening the document has been omitted. It will be sufficient to reproduce the text only once, as given in C 3, noting such *variae lectiones* as are found in the other redactions. The additional passage of C 1 will be given separately.

TRANSCRIPT.

(1. 1) Sīdham namo¹ bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino² savamūno
(1. 2) sava-sat-ānukampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha- (1. 3) [gaṇ]dha-
hathusa samma-sam[budh]asa dhātuvāra-parigahitasa mah[ā]chetiye³ mahārājasa (1. 4) Virūpa-
khaṇḍa-Mahāsena-parigahitasa⁴ hiraṇa-koṭi⁵-go-satasahasā-hala-sa- (1. 5) tasaha[sa]-jāyisa
savathesu apatihata-samkapasa Vāsīhīputasa⁶ Ikhākusa (1. 6) Sīri-Chātāmūlāsa⁷ sodarā
bhagini ramño Mādharīputasa⁸ Sīri-Virapurisadatasa (1. 7) pituchhā mahāsēnūpatisa⁹
mahātālavarasa Vāsīhīputasa¹⁰ Pūkiyānam¹¹ Kamdasiri[sa]¹² (1. 8) bhariyā samaṇa-
bam[h*]apa-kavaṇa-vanijaka¹³-din-ānugaha-velāmika¹⁴-dāna-patibhaga¹⁵-vo- (1. 9) chihimna¹⁶-
dhāra-padāyini sava-sādhu-vachhalā mahādānapatini¹⁷ mahātālavarā Khamdasūgaramnaka-¹⁸
mātā (1. 10) Ch[ā]tisiri¹⁹ apano ubhaya-kulasa atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānakānam²⁰
parināmetunam²¹ (1. 11) ubhaya-loka-hita sukh-āvahathanāya²² atano cha nivāpa-
sāmpati-sāmpādake (1. 12) sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya²³ cha imam lhambhārā
patithapitam ti (1. 13) Ramño Sīri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6²⁴
diva 10

¹ Invocation of Buddha omitted in X.

² supabudha bodhino up to samma-sambudhāsa omitted in B 3, l 1; C 1, l 1, D 2, l 1, D 4, l 1

³ mahāchētiye in A 4, l 3, D 4, l 1 (mahāchētiye), imamhi mahāchētiye in A 3, l 2-3, D 2, l 1; mahāchētiye in A 2, l 3

⁴ Virūpakhaṇḍa-Mahāsena parigahitasa- omitted in D 2, l 2. Agrihot-Āgrishoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājusa after -parigahitasa in A 2, l 3-4, A 3, l 3-4, A 4, l 4, -parigahitasa in B 3, l 2, D 4, l 2

⁵ hiraṇa koṭi- in A 2, l 4, A 3, l 4, B 3, l 3, D 4, l 3

⁶ Vāsīhīputasa in A 3, l 5, A 4, l 5; B 3, l 4, X, l 3; Vāsēhīputasa in C 1, l 4, Vāsīhī- in D 2, l 3; Vāsīhī- in D 4, l 4.

⁷ Chātāmūlāsa in A 2, l 5, A 3, l 5; A 4, l 5, C 1, l 5, D 4, l 4, X, l 3

⁸ Mādharīputasa omitted in A 3, l 5, D 4, l 5, Mādharīputasa in A 4, l 6, X, l 3

⁹ senāpatisa omitted in X, l 4

¹⁰ Read Vāsēhīputasa with A 4, l 6, B 3, l 6, C 1, l 6, X, l 4. The reading in Vāsēhīputasa in A 2, l 6; Vāsēhī in D 2, l 5, Vāsīhī in D 4, l 5

¹¹ Pūkiyānam in B 3, l 6, X, l 4.

¹² Kadasirisa in A 4, l 7, D 4, l 6, X, l 4. Omitted in A 3, l 6.

¹³ -vaṇya- in A 3, l 6, -vaṇyaka- in A 4, l 7, B 3, l 6, C 1, l 7, D 2, l 5, D 4, l 6; X, l 5.

¹⁴ velāmika in A 4, l 7, -velāmi- in B 3, l 7; D 2, l 6

¹⁵ Read. patibhaga, the reading of A 2, l 7; A 4, l 7-8, B 3, l 7; C 1, l 7, D 2, l 6; D 4, l 6, X, l 5.

¹⁶ chihimna in A 2, l 7, A 3, l 7, A 4, l 8, B 3, l 7, C 1, l 7, D 4, l 6; X, l 5.

¹⁷ mahādānapatini omitted in B 3, l 7; D 2, l 6; D 4, l 7.

¹⁸ Khamdasūgarāmaka- in A 3, l 7, A 4, l 8, C 1, l 8; X, l 6. Khada in D 2, l 7; D 4, l 7

¹⁹ Chātīsiri in A 3, l 7, A 4, l 9, C 1, l 8; X, l 6. Chātīsiriṇī in B 3, l 8

²⁰ -vaṭamānake in B 3, l 8, D 4, l 8, X, l 7.

²¹ parināmetuna in A 3, l 8; A 4, l 9. parināmetuna in D 4, l 8; parināmetūna (?) in X, l 7; apano ubhaya-kula-parināmetūna in C 1, l 8

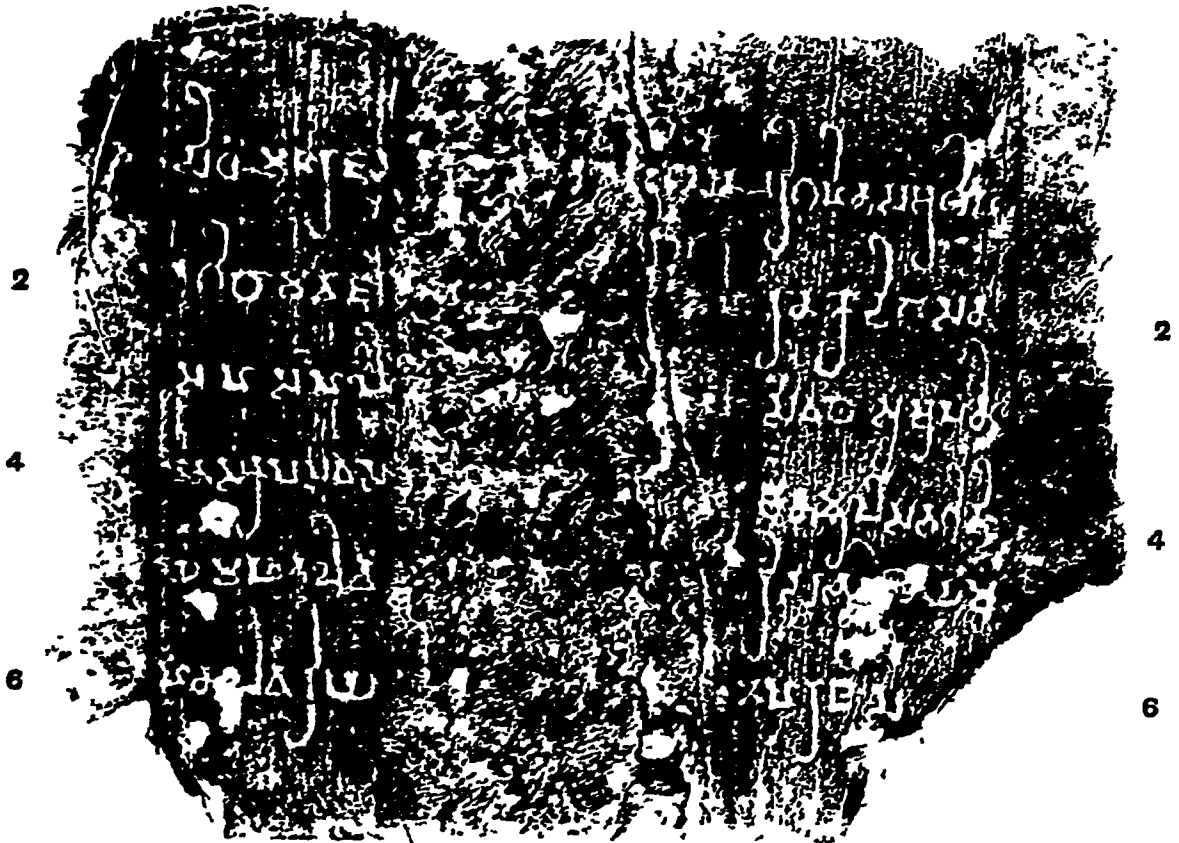
²² ubhaya-loka-sukha-nivāpathanāya in A 3, l 8; A 4, l 10; X, l 7. Omitted in B 3, l 9; C 1, l 9; D 4, l 8

X, l 8 has after -sāmpādake the following: bhagavato samma-sambudhāsa jhātu. (dhātu)vara-parigahitasa mahāchētiyama;

²³ -sukha-nivāpathanāya in A 3, l 9; A 4, l 10 (?); D 4, l 9. Sava-loka- omitted in B 3, l 9.

²⁴ vā pa 6 written under the line. In A 3, l 10 and A 4, l 11 these aksharas have been omitted.

B-1



[illegible]

TRANSLATION.

Success Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion which have been conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, the perfectly Enlightened One, who is absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., by Nirvāṇa) At the Mahāchetiya, the *Mahālālavarī Chā[th]itūri* (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīthīputa Ikhāku Suri-Chā[m]tamūla—absorbed by Mahāsena the lord of Virūpakhas, the giver of crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), unimpeded of purpose in all (his) aims,—(she who is) the paternal aunt of King Mādhariputa Suri-Virapurisadata, (she who is) the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātālavara*, Vāsīthīputa Kamdasini of (the family of) the Pūkiyas; and the mother of Khamdasāgaramnaka, she who, out of compassion for Śramanas, Brāhmins, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow¹ of Velāmic gifts, she, the great mistress of munificence, devoted to all the virtuous, having due regard for the past, future and present (members) of both the houses to which she belongs, for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world, has erected this pillar In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Suri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day

Additional Passage in C 1²

TRANSCRIPT.

(l 10) ācharyānam Aparamahāvīnas[e]hyāna[m] supariḡahitam imam mahāchetiya-
navakamam [m] (l 11) Pamṇagāma-vathavānam Dīgha-Majhima-pa[m]cha-mātuka-osaḡa³-
vāchakānam ācharyānam Ayira-hamghāna[m] (l 12) a[m]tevasīkena Dīgha-Majhims-
nikāya-dharena bhajarit-Ānadena⁴ nūthapitam imam navakamam mahāchetiya[m] (l 13) khambhā
cha thāpitā ti ramño Suri-Virapurisadatasā sava 6 va pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha*- and the *Majhima-nikāyas* by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Masters of the Ayira-hamgha (Skt *Ārya-saṅgha*) who are resident in Pamṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha*, the *Majhima*-[*nikāya*] and of the five *Mātukas* This pious work, the Mahāchetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Suri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 1.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sīdham mahārājasa. ...sena-pariḡahitasa Agiho-(l 2) t-Āgūthoma-Vāja.....[h]r
raṇa koṭi-go-sata- (l. 3) sahasa-hala....savathesu apati- (l 4) hata-sa[m]kapasa v[ā]se....

¹ My translation is based on the assumption that we must read -*dān-āpaṭṭhāg-ārochāna*.

² Cf. the corresponding passage in line 8 of the āyaka-pillar inscription C 2, *infra*.

³ Read: -*osaka*- (C 2, l. 9).

⁴ Read: *bhaddanti-Ānandena* (C 2, l. 10).

Chātāmūlasa bhaginī- (l. 5) ya mahātalava[rasa]. [s]rīsa bha[rīyā]ya ma- (l. 6) hātala-
variya mah[ā]r[ā]jasa

[The inscription is too fragmentary to admit of translation. It, evidently, opens with the string of epithets eulogizing King Sīri-Chā[m]tamūla. The donor, whose name is lost, was, perhaps, a daughter of Chā[m]tisiri.]

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 2.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sīdham mahārājasa Asamedha-yājasa aneka-hīramna-koti go-satasahasā-hala sata-
(l. 2) sahasa-padāyasa savathesu apatīhata-samkapasa Vāsithīputasa Ikhākusa (l. 3)
Sīri Chā[m]tamūlasa dūlutā ramño Sīri Virapurisadatasa bhaginī mahāsenūpatīsa mahā- (l. 4)
talavarasa mahādandanāyakasa Dhanakānam Khamdavisākhamnakasa bhayā mahātalavari
(l. 5) Adavi-Chātīsiri apāno ubhaya-kulam parināme[tū]na atano cha ubhaya-lola-hita-sukh-āva-
hathanāya (l. 6) bhagavato saṁma-sabudhasa² dhātuvāra-parigahītasa Mahāchetīye imam
khambham patīdhapamta¹ ti (l. 7) ramño Sīri-Virapurisadatasa saṁva 6 vā pa 6
diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success The *Mahātalavari* Adavi-Chātīsiri (*who is*) the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsithīputa Ikhāku Sīri-Chā[m]tamūla, the offerer of Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*), of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims, (*who is*) the sister of King Sīri-Virapurisadata, (*and who is*) the wife of the *Mahāsenūpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, the *Mahādandanāyaka* Khamdavisākhamnaka (*of the family*) of the Dhanakas, having due regard for both the houses to which she belongs and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds, has erected this pillar at the Mahāchetīya of the Lord, the supreme Buddha who is absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, by *Nirvāṇa*). In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Sīri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sīdham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bo[dhino*] savamñuno
sava so[t-ā-](l. 2) nukampakasa pīta-rūga dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-
gamdha-ha[thusa] (l. 3) saṁma-saṁbugasa² dhātuvāra-parigahītasa mahāchetī[ye] Kulahakāna-
[m] bālīkā (l. 4) mahāsenūpatīsa mahātalavarasa Vāsithīputasa Hīramnākānam Kham-
dachalīkīremmanakasa (l. 5) bhayā mahāsenūpatīni Chula Chātīsirinikā apāno ubhaya-loka
hita-sukha-ni- (l. 6) vāpathanāya imam sela-khambham patīdhapitam ti ramño Sīri-
Virapurisadatasa (l. 7) saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, *Nirvāṇa*). At the Mahāchetīya, the

¹Read *patīdhapitam*.

²Read *sambudhasa*

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

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Mahāsenāpatinī Chula-Chātisīrnikā, (who is) a daughter of (the family of) the Kulahakas, and the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalarava*, Vāsithīputa Khamdachahikremmanaka of (the family of) the Hiramākas, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāna has erected this stone pillar In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day

Āyala-pillar inscription B 5

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sīdham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savamūno sava-sat-
[ānu-^{*}] (l. 2) kampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moka-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gamdha-hadhisa¹
(l. 3) samma-sambudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahāchetiye Ujanikā² mahārabalikā³ (l. 4)
mahādevī Rudradharabhat[ā]rikā imam sela-lhambham apano hita-sukha-nivānadhanāya⁴
patith[ā]pitam (l. 5) mahātalaravā cha Pūkyānam Chāmtisīrnikāhi imasa mahāvihārassa
mahāchetiyam⁵ (l. 6) samuthapiyamāne mahātalaravā ubhayitā dīnāri-māsakā satari-satam
100[+^{*}]70⁶ lhambho cha (l. 7) ramño Siri-Virapurisadatasā samva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION

Success ' Adoration to the Lord, etc (see above, sub B 4) At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevī Rudradharabhatārikā, a Mahārāja's daughter from Ujjeni (Skt Ujjayinī) has erected this stone pillar for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāna And while the Mahāchetiya of this Great Vihāra was being raised by the ladies, the *Mahātalaravis*, Chāmtisīrnikā of (the family of) the Pūkyas, one hundred and seventy (100+70) *dīnāri-māsakas* and a pillar have been raised by the *Mahātalaravī* ⁶ In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day

Āyala-pillar inscription C 2

TRANSCRIPT

(l. 1) Sīdham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa samma-samma-sambudhasa⁷ dhātuvara-
(l. 2) parigahitasa⁸ Mahāchetiye mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa (l. 3) Aghot-
Āgithogithoma⁹- Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa hīrana-koti-go-sata- (l. 4) sahāsa-hala satasahasā-
padāyisa savathesu apatīhata-samkapaśa (l. 5) Vāsithīputasa Ikḥākusa Siri-Chātāmūlāsa
sodarāya bhaginīya Haṁma- (l. 6) sīrīrnikāya bālikā ramño Siri-Virapurisadatasā bhayā
mahādevī Bapisīrnikā (l. 7) apano mātaram Hammesīrīrnikam parinamatuna¹⁰ atane¹¹ cha
nivāna-sampati-sampādake (l. 8) imam sela-thambham patīthapitam achari[ya]nam Aparā-
mahāvīnaseliyānam suparigahita[m^{*}] (l. 9) imam Mahāchetiya-navakamam Pamnagāma-
vathavānam Dīgha-Majhima-pamda¹². m[ā]tuka-desa[ku-vā^{*}][chakānam] (l. 10) arayāna[m]¹³

¹ Read *hathisa*

² Read *Ujjenilā*

³ Read *mahārāja bāhikā*

⁴ Read *nivānāthanaya*

⁵ Read *mahāchetiye*

⁶ The meaning probably is that the Queen Rudradharabhatārikā, besides dedicating a pillar, contributed a sum of 170 *dīnāri māsakas* towards the expenses incurred by Chāmtisīrī for the building of the *stūpa*

⁷ *anīrma-* has been written twice by mistake

⁸ Perhaps *parigahitasa*

⁹ The two *alansras* *gi sho* have been written twice by mistake

¹⁰ Read *parināmetūna(m)*

¹¹ Read *alana*

¹² Read *pañcha* (cf. above, C 1, l. 11).

¹³ Read *āchariyānam*

Ayira-haghāna[m] amtevāsikena Dīgha-Manigaya¹-dharena bhadaṃt Ānāṃdena (l. 11)
 nīṭhapita[m] ima[m] navakama[m] mahāchetiya[m] khambhā cha ṭhapitā tī raṃṃṃo Siri-
 Virapurisadatasa² (l. 12) samva 6 vē pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevī Bapasirīṇikā (*who is*) the daughter of Hammasirīṇikā, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīṭhiputa Ikhāku Siri-Chātamūla, etc., (see sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammasirīṇikā, and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. For the benefit of the Masters of the Apāramahāvīnaseliya sect has this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya been accepted. This pious foundation, consisting of the Mahāchetiya, has been completed and the pillars have been set up by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha*- and the *Maṇḍima*-(*nīkāya*) (?) by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ārya-saṅgha who are resident in Pāṇnagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha* and the *Maṇḍima*-(*nīkāya*), and of the five *Mātukas*. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sīdham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa¹ saṃma-sambudhasa dhātuvara-
 parigaṃhītasā (l. 2) mahādetiyamhi² mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigaṃhītasā
 Agihāta-³ (l. 3) Agithoma Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājusa hiraṃpa-koṭi-go-satasahasā-hala sata- (l. 4)
 sahasā-padāyasa savathesu apatīhata-samkapasa Vāsīṭhiputasa Ikhākusa (l. 5) Siri-
 Chāmtamūlasa sodarā-bhagīniya Hammasariya⁴ bālikā mahārājasa (l. 6) Māḍhariputasa
 Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayā mahādevī Chhathisiri apano (l. 7) mātaraṃ Hammasirīṇikā
 parināmetuna atanam⁵ cha nīvāpa-sāmpati-sampādake imam bhamkham⁶ (l. 8) paṭiṭha-
 pitam mahārājasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6 dāva⁷ 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, etc., (see above, sub C 2) the Mahādevī Chhathisiri (Skt Shash-
 ṭhīrī), (*who is*) the daughter of Hammasiri, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīṭhiputa Ikhāku
 Siri-Chāmtamūla, etc., (see above, sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍhariputa Siri-
 Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammasirīṇikā and for the sake of attainment
 by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King
 Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sīdham namo bhagavato saṃma-sambu[dha*]sa dhātuvara-parigaṃhītasā Mahāchetiya
 (l. 2) mahāsenāpatisa mahātālavarasa Vāsīṭhiputasa Pūkiyānam Mahākathdasarisa (l. 3)

* Read *Dīgha Maṇḍima-nīkāya-dharena* (cf. above, C 1, l. 12).

* Read *Siri Vira*

* Read *mahāchetiyaṃhi*.

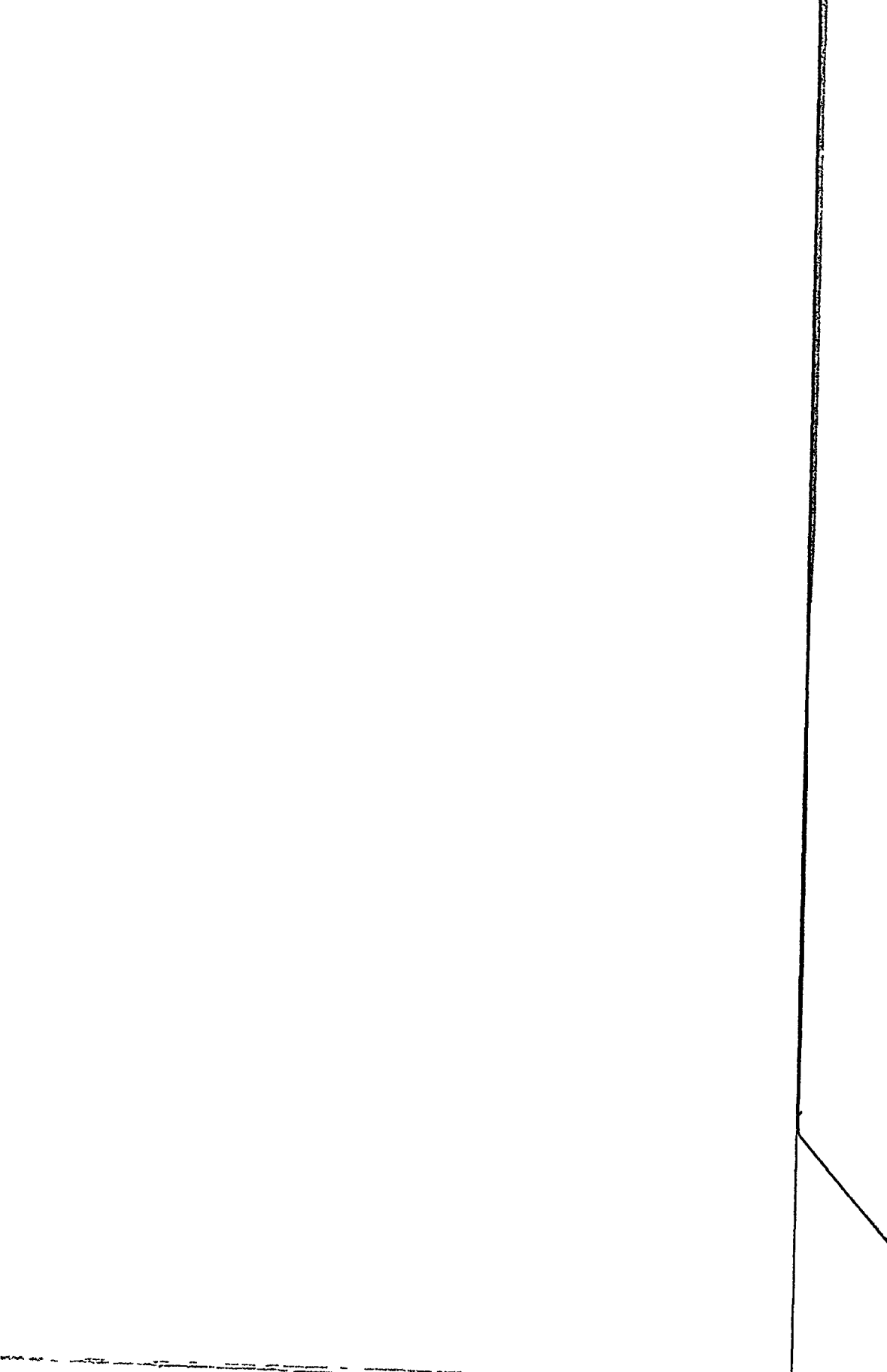
* Read *Agihot-A'*.

* Read *ariya*

* Read: *atanu*

* Read: *Lhasibhara*.

* Read: *diva*.



bhaya mahāsenāpatīsa mahātalavarasa Vinhusirisa mātā mahātalavari apano (l 4) ubhaya-
kulam parināmetu[na*] atano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivānathaya cha imam (l 5) sela-
khambham patithapitam mahārājasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa samva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION

Success¹ Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the *Mahātalavari* (who is) the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Vāsethiputa Mahākandasiri of (the family of) the Pūkiyes and (who is) the mother of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Vinhusiri (Skt Vishnūśri), with due regard to both the families to which she belongs, and for the sake of her own welfare and happiness in both the worlds and Nirvāna, has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day

First Apsidal Temple inscription E

TRANSCRIPT

(l 1) Sidham namo bhagavato Budhasa chetiya-ghara mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahā-
sena-parigahitasa Agñhot [ā]githoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājusa aneka-hirana koti-go-
satśahaca-hala-satasa[hasa*]-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-samkapasa Vāsethiputasa Ikhākulasa¹
Siri-Chātamūlasa sahodar[ā] - bhagun mahātalavarasa Vāsethiputasa Pugyāna[m*]
Khamdasirisa bhariy[ā] mahātalavari Khamdasāgaramnaga-m[ē]tā Chātisiri apano jām-
[ā]tukasa raño M[ā]thariputasa Ikh[ā]kunam Siri-Virapurisadatasa ayu-vadhanike
vejayike (l 2) apano cha ubhaya-[loka]-hita-sukha-[nivānathanāya samma-sambudhasa
dhā-]*² tu-parigahitasa mahāchetiya-pādamūle³ pavaṇitānam nānā-desā-samanāgatānam
sava-sādhūnam mahābhikkhu-sa[m]ghasa apa[no] cha u-]bhaya-kulasa atichhita[m]-janāgata
vatamānake nikapanike cha parināmetunam Aparamahāvinaseliy[ā]nam parigahe sava
nyuta[m] chātusala-parigahitam⁴ sela-mamta[m] patith[ā]pitam raño Siri-Vira-
purisadatasa samvachharam athāra sam 10[+*]⁵ hemanta-pakham chhatham 6 divasam
pañchamam 5 sava-satānam hit[ā]ya sukhāya hotu ti

TRANSLATION.

Success¹ Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A *chetiya-ghara* (*chaitya-hall*) Chātisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsethiputa Siri-Chātamūla of the house of Ikhāku, who is favoured (absorbed?) by Mahāsena, the lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēya and Āśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims, (who is) the wife of Vāsethiputa Khamdasiri of (the family of) the Pugiyas and (who is) the mother of Khamdasāgaramnaga, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law, King Māthariputa, Siri-Virapurisadata of the house of Ikhāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāna, having due regard to the past, future and present bliss (?) of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated (?) into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided

¹ Probably *Ikhāku kulasa*

² The *alsharas* placed between square brackets are still partly traceable.

³ The *akshara* *hā* is written under the line

⁴ Read: *chaturāla*.

with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas. In the eighteenth year, anno 18, of King Siri-Virapurisadatta, in the sixth—sixth—fortnight of winter, on the fifth—fifth—day. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings

Second Apsidal Temple inscription F.

TRANSCRIPT.

(1) 1) Sidhān namo bhagavato Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata pabhava-vamsa-saṁbhavaśa deva-manusa sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kūma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-mohadosa-sada(ā)pitā¹ Māra-bala-dapa-māna-paśamana karasa dasa-bala maha(ā)balasa atha[m*]-ga-maga-dhamachaka-pavata-kasa chaka-lakhaṇa sukumāra-sujāta-charapasa taruṇa divasakara-pabhasa sarada-sasi-soma-darisanasa sava loka-chūta mahitasa Budhasa raṁṇo M[ūtha]riputasa² 10[-*]4 homamta-pakham chhaṭṭham 6 divasam teram 10[-*]3. ta [rā]-jūchariyānam³ Kasmira-Gaṇḍhāra-Chīna Chūlāta-Tosali-Avaramta-Vamga-Vanavāsi-Yava[na-]Da[mila-Pa]lura⁴ Tāmbapaṁṇi-dīpa-pas[ā]dakānān thec[ri]yānam Tāmbapa[m]nakānam supariṇahe (1. 2) Siripavato Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhūge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriyaṇ chetiya-gharam sapata-samtharam sachetiyaṇ sava nyutam kārītam uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya apāno bhatuno Budhi[m]nakasa pituno cha se Govagāma-vathavasa Revata-gahapatiśa mātuya cha sa Budhamnikāya bhātunam cha se Chamdamukhanasa Karumbudhinasa Haghamnasa bhaginīya cha Revatamukāya bhātu-putānam cha Mahā-Chamdamukha-Chūla-Chamdamukhānam bhāgineyānam cha Mahā-Mūla-Chūla-Mūlānam apāno cha ayakasa Mūlavānīyasa ayikāya Budhavanīka[nāya] mātulaka-⁵[sa cha] koth[ā]kūrikasa Bhadiya Bodhisammasa Chamdasa Bodhikasa mahāmātukāya Bhadi[lā]va Bodhiya cha apāno pituno Budhi[vā]nīyasa m[ātuya] (1. 3) bhātuno Mūlāsa bhaginīnam Budhamnikāya Mūlamnikāya Nāgabodhinīkāya cha dhūtuya Vīramnikāya putānam Nāgamnasa Vīramnasa cha sūmāhūnam cha Bhadasiri-Misīnam evam-eva cha Kulaha-vihāre chetiya-gharam Sihaṭṭhi-vihāre bodhi-rukha-pāsādo Mahā-Dhammagiriyaṇ ovarako 1 mahāvī[bā*]re mamḍava-khaṁbho Devagiriyaṇ padhāna-sālū Puvaselo talākaṇa s[am]j[ā]dū⁶ ma[m*]ḍavo cha Kamṭakasele mahāchetiyaśa puva dāre sela mamḍavo Hirumuṭhuvo ovarakū timṇi 3 Papulīyaṇ ovarakū sata 7 Puphagiriya[m] sela mamḍavo Dham⁷ .. vihāre sela-ma[m]ḍavo etam cha savam uvarivamṇi⁸ tam .sā[dhu-vagasa⁹ ahamta¹⁰ hita-sukhāya thavitaṇ sava[sa] cha lokasa imam navakammam timṇi navaka[m]mikehi kārītam Chamdamukha-therena cha (1. 4) Dhammanamdi therena cha Nāga-therena cha sela vaḍḍhūkaśa Vidhikasa kammam ti

¹ [I would read "moha dosasa dapita Mura"—Ed]

² The akshara śha of Māthariputasa is partly preserved. After this word some five or six aksharas are lost. In the absence of any traces of strokes, the missing word cannot have been *Siri-Purissadattaśa*. In all probability it was *saṁvachcharaṇ*, followed by a word expressing "fourteenth" (*chodam* 1).

³ Perhaps *bhaddanta rājūchariyānam*?

⁴ The words which I read *Yatana Damila Palura* are not quite certain. The *Da* of *Damila* is still legible and the long drawn top strokes of the remaining two aksharas have led me to the conjectural reading *mila*, the body of the akshara *m* being partly preserved. The *Pa* of *Palura* is conjectural.

⁵ The akshara *sa* of *mātulakasa* is conjectural. As the word is followed by several personal names in the genitive case, one would expect *mātulakānaṇ*, but the akshara *la* shows no trace of an ā stroke.

⁶ Perhaps *sela mamḍa*?

⁷ Some ten aksharas are lost after *dham*.

⁸ The akshara *taṇ* is conjectural. Perhaps *taśa*.

⁹ The first akshara *sā* has been restored tentatively. The *u* stroke of *dhu* is still faintly visible.

¹⁰ The aksharas which I read *ahamta* (Skt. *ahanta*) are indistinct.

F SECTION-3




F SECTION-4



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(1)
deva-m
dosa-sa
ga-mag
kara-po
M[ū]tha
jāchari
Da[m]ul
suparig
chetiya
apano
mātuya
Haghar
Chamda
Mūlavā
Bodhis
pituno
Mūlam
cha sun
vihāre
khambh
mahāch
sata 7
uvariva
lokasa
(l. 4) 1



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¹⁰ The

TRANSLATION.

Success' Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (*which is*) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikṣāku's lineage, who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra's hosts called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion, and hatred, who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the Wheel-of-the-Law (*pertaining to*) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and well-formed feet (*are marked with*) the sign of the Wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth—14th—(year) of King Mātharīputa, in the sixth—5th—fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth—13th—day. For the benefit of the masters and of the fraternities (*of monks*) of Tambapanna (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmīra, Gandhāra, China, Chūlāta (=Skt Kīrātā), Tosali, Avaramta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vanga, Vanavāsī, Yavana(?), Dāmila (?), Palura (?) and the Isle of Tambapanna (Ceylon) At Sūrpavata (=Skt Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapurī at the Convent on the Lesser Dhammagiri a *chaitya* hall with a flooring of slabs, with a *chaitya* and provided with all the necessities, was caused to be made by the female lay-member Bodhisiri (Skt Bōdhisirī) for the sake of her own husband Budhinnaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhamnikā and of his brothers Chamdamukha, Karumbudhina (*and*) Haghamna and of (*his*) sister Revatinnikā and of (*his*) brother's sons Mahā-Chamdamukha (=Skt Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chula-Chamdamukha (=Skt Kshudra-Chandramukha) and of (*his*) sister's sons Mahā-Mūla and Chula-Mūla, and (*for the sake*) of her own grandfather Mūla-vāṇiya and of her grandmother Budhavāṇikā and of her maternal uncle(s) (?), the treasurer¹ Bhada (=Skt Bhadra), Bodhisamma (=Skt Bōdhisārman), Chamda (=Skt Chandra) (*and*) Bodhika, and of her maternal grandmother Bodhi and of her own father Budhivāṇiya and of her mother (?) , of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhamnikā, Mūlammikā, and Nāgabodhinikā, of her daughter Virammikā, of her sons Nāgamna and Viramna and of her daughters-in-law Bhadasiri (=Skt Bhadrāsirī) and Misi (=Skt Mīsīrī) And even thuswise a *chaitya*-hall at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhaḷa-vihāra one—1—cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a *mandava*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah² and *mandava* at Puvasela (=Skt Pūrvasāla), a stone *mandava* at the eastern gate of the Great Chaitya at Kantakasela³ (=Skt. Kantakasāla), three—3—cells at Hirumuthuva, seven—7—cells at Papilā, a stone *mandava* at Paphagiri (=Skt Pushpagiri), a stone *mandava* at the vihāra And all this above described has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the *thera* Chamdamukha, and the *thera* Dhammanamdi and the *thera* Nāga (*It is*) the work of the stone mason Vidhika.

Detached Pillar inscription G

TRANSCRIPT⁴

- (1 1) [Sī]dham namo bhagavato teloka-dhamma-dhurā-vaḥasa mahārāja[sa Virū-]
 (1 2) [pa]kṣapata-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Agihot-Āgithoma [Vājape-] (1 3) y-Āsamedha-y-

¹ *Kophākārika* = Skt *Īśāhāgārika*.

² If *alaṇḍā* is the correct reading, it may perhaps be taken for another form of Pali *ālinda* "a verandah terrace".

³ The vowel mark of the fourth *akshara* has the appearance of an *o* stroke but this I believe is due to an error not unfrequent in these inscriptions.

⁴ The first half of the inscription has been restored with the aid of the corresponding passage in other inscriptions.

[ā]yī(jī)sa hīramna-koti-go-satasaha[sa-hala-sata-] (l. 4) sahasa-padū(yī)sa savathesu apatīhata-samka[paśa] (l. 5) [Vā]sethīputasa Ikhākunam Sīri-Chātāmūlāsa sun[hā]ya [mahārāja-] (l. 6) sa Mādha[rī]putasa¹ Ikhākunam Sīri-Vīrapurīsadatasa bhayaya² ma-(l. 7)hārājasa Sīri-E[hu]va[la]-Chātāmūlāsa³ mātuya mahād[e]vīya Bhatidevāya (l. 8) . . . [ī]mañ vihāro sava-jāta-miyuto⁴ achariy[ā]nam Bahusutīyānam (l. 9) patīhā[pito] ra pu nam budhina⁵ [samvachharam]. [bitiyam] (l. 10) [gimha-pakham]. . . . sugbhāya tī⁶

TRANSLATION

Success ' Adoration to the Lord, the Leader of the Law of the Three Worlds —Mahādevī Bhatidevā(who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Sīri-Chātāmūla, of (the house of) the Ikhākus, etc, (see above, sub C 3), (who is) the wife of Mahārāja Mādharīputa Sīri-Vīrapurīsadata of the house of the Ikhākus, (and who is) the mother of Mahārāja Sīri-Ehuvala (?)-Chātāmūla, has erected this monastery provided with all essentials (?) for the Masters of the Bahusutīya sect⁷

Detached Pillar inscription II

TRANSCRIPT

(l. 1) Sīdham namo bhagavato samā-sam- (l. 2) budhasa mahārājasa Vāsethīputasa (l. 3) Ikhākunam Sīri-Ehuvala-[Chāta]mūlāsa sava 10[+*]1 (l. 4). . . 1 diva 7 mahārājasa Agghot-Āgghema- Vājaveja⁸ (l. 5) Asamedha-yūyī(jī)sa [aneka-]hīrana-koti-go-satasahasā- (l. 6) hala-satasahasā-pad[ā]yī[ī]sa savathesu apatīhata- (l. 7) samkapasa Vāsethīputasa Ikhākunam [m] Sīri-Ch[ā]tamūla[sa] (l. 8) nattiya mahārājasa Mātharīputasa Sīri-Vīrapurīsa- (l. 9) datasa dhūtuya mahārājasa Vāsethīputasa Ikhākunam (l. 10) Sīri-Ehuvala-Ch[ā]tamūla[sa] bhaginīyā Vānavāsaka mahārāja- (l. 11) mahādevīya [Ko]jda[ba]hīrīya imam khamiyam vihāro cha (l. 12) achariyānam Mahī[sā]sakanam⁹ suparigahe chātudisam (l. 13) sa[m]gham udisāya sava sātānam hita-sukh[ā]ttham tthūpitam acharīye- (l. 14) na mahā-dhamma-kāthil[e]na Dhamma[gho]sa-¹⁰therena anuthitam tī

TRANSLATION

Success ' Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha In the 11th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Sīri Ehuvala-[Chāta]mūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus, the 1st (fortnight of ?), the 7th day Mahādevī [Ko]jda[ba]hīrīya, (who is) the grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa, Sīri-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus, etc, (see above, C 3), (who is) the daughter of Mahārāja Mātharīputa Sīri-Vīrapurīsadata of (the house of) the Ikhākus, (who is) the sister of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Sīri-Ehuvala-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikhākus; and (who is) the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka has erected this pillar and monastery

¹ The second *alshara* may be either *ḍa* or *ḍha*

² This mutilated word can hardly be anything but *bhayāya*

³ The *alsharas* *hīruva* are damaged owing to a crack, but *hu* is still legible.

⁴ Or should we read *sava jina-miyuto*? The *alshara* following *sava* is certainly *jā* In the other inscriptions we find *savamiyuto*,

⁵ [*Vīrapunambudhīya* (proper name?) *rañō* °—Ed]

⁶ The date appears to have been followed by a benedictory formula such as *sava loka hita-sukhāya*

Lines 9 & 10 seem to have contained a date, but are too much obliterated to allow of being deciphered

⁷ Read *Aginot-Agīthoma-Vajapeya*.

⁸ The third syllable *ca* is still traceable.

⁹ The third *alshara* has become very faint At first I felt inclined to read *Dhammayasa* but the long horizontal base stroke which is still clear rather suggests the letter *gha*

H.



2

4

6

8

2

4

6

8

Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely Gothic or similar, on a parchment or vellum surface. The text is arranged in several lines, with some lines being more prominent than others. The script is dense and characteristic of the late Middle Ages. The parchment shows signs of age, including staining and wear.

for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahā[sā]saka sect, on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings (*It has been* carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the *thera* Dhamma[gho]sa

Sculpture inscription J ¹

TRANSCRIPT

(1 1) Sīdham namo bhagavato aga-pogalasa Budhasa Chhadakapavatich[e]na Paduma-
[vā]-mya gharaniya sagaya saputakānam Hagas[i]r[i]sa sagasa Nagatarasa cha sabhaja[sa]
(1 2) saputikāna[m] cha deyadhām[o] pato unisa cha mahāchetiye patitb[ā]rito

TRANSLATION

Success Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of beings

A meritorious gift (*consisting of*) a slab and a coping stone, has been dedicated at the Great Chaitya by Chhadakapavaticha, Padumavānī his house wife, together with their sons Hagasiri and Nagatara with his wife and together with their daughters

Fragmentary Sculpture inscription K

TRANSCRIPT

(1 1) saputak[ā]na[m] cha Dhamasa Padumasa cha [Bha]dasa Hughasa saput-
[i]k[ā]na[m] cha had[ā]ya Budh[ā]ya Padumāya M[isā]ya Chula-Budh-
[ā]ya N[ā]k[ā]ya cha saj[ā]m[ā]tuk[ā]na[m] san[ā]tuk[ā]na[m] sanat[i]na[m] cha sanādi-
m[i]ta-ba[m]dhavāna[m] cha deyadhām[o] pata niba sapadaka ²

TRANSLATION

together with his² sons Dhamā and Padumā, [Bha]dā, Hughā and together with his daughters -hadā, Budhā, Padumā, Mīsā, Chula-Budhā, and Nākā, together with his sons-in-law, together with his grandsons and granddaughters and together with his relatives, friends, and kinsmen, a meritorious gift [*consisting of*] a slab

Postscript

Extract from a letter dated Oslo, 2nd October, 1928, from Prof Sten Konow, Ph D

"In the first place I should like to draw your attention—perhaps unnecessarily—to the suffix *anaka* in *Viśākhanaka*, *Sāgarannaka*, formed from *Viśākha*, *Sāgara*, respectively This same suffix is frequent in names from the Bombay Presidency, cf Lüders, Nos 985, 993, 1000, 1018, 1020, 1033 (Kanhari), 1063, 1064, 1065 (Kudā), 1088, 1091, 1097 (Kārli), 1109, 1111, (Bedsa), 1141 (Nāsik), 1171 (Junnar) It evidently belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian perhaps Kanarese, substratum The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese Moreover, some of the names seem to find their explanation in Kanarese Thus *landa* means 'child' in Kanarese, and *chal* 'cold' *Chalikremmanaka* probably is *Chalikranaka*='Moon' It also strikes me that Kanarese *larrambu* means 'envy' I have not access to a Telugu dictionary But it seems to me that Kanarese is more likely The other characteristics which can be gleaned from your quotations do not help us They show that we have to do with a Standard Prakrit, related to Pali, which was, as you know, used over a large territory The change of *-p-* to *-v-* is

¹ The transcript and translation of inscriptions J and K should be regarded as provisional.

² Perhaps *sapāduka-paṭṭa* [Perhaps the reading is '*paṭāni*, be *sapādulāni*', meaning two slabs with foot-prints.—Ed]

³ His, her, or their, as the case may be

general in most Prakrits and cannot be used for localizing the dialect. A similar language is also used in the Khāravēla inscriptions. I would therefore be inclined to define the dialect of your inscriptions as follows. We are faced with a normalized semi-literary Prakrit, used by people whose home tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanarese. If I am right, we should *a priori* be inclined to infer that the Ikkhākus had come to the Kistna country from the West. But all such conclusions are bound to be uncertain. *Khamda* is, as you say, probably = *Skanda*, and *Chānta* might be *Kshānta*, but might also have something to do with *Chāndaka*, the designation of some actors from Mathurā (Lüders, No 85) "

Glossary.

- aga-pogala* (J, I 1), Pali *agga-puggala*=Skt *agrya-pudgala*, an epithet of Buddha.
- Ayihot-Āgīthoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha yājisa* (passim), an epithet of Śiri Chāntamūla Cf. *Aggīthoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājī* in the Hīrahadagallī copper-plate grant of the Pālava king Śivaskandavarman, *Ep Ind* Vol. I, pp 2 f Also, *divr-Āśamēdha-yājīnch* in the Sunga inscription from Ayōdhya *J B O R S* Vol X, pp 202 f
- a[chanhta]* (F, I 3), i.e., *achohanta*=Skt *atyanta*
- a[hartha] maga dhamachala pavataha* (F, I. 1), i.e., *atthanga magga dhammichalla pavattala*=Skt. *ashāṅga mārṅga-dharmachakra pravartala*, an epithet of Buddha.
- athūra* (D, I 2), "eighteenth"
- atichhuta*, i.e., *atichchhuta* (A 3, I 8, A 4, I 9, etc.,) always followed by *anāgata-raṣa-mānake* or **mānalānash*. Cf Pali *atichchhati* (Skt *ati-richchhati*) which is only preserved in the expression *atichchhatha bhante* "Please go on, Sir" The past participle *atichchhuta*, therefore, stands for the usual *atita*
- Adavi Chātisiri* (B, 2, I 5), a personal name The second *alshara* is possibly *ḍa*
- anuthitam* (H, I 14) Cf Pali *anuthita* (=Skt *anushṭhita*), past participle of *anuttahata*, meaning "carried out, effected."
- aneka hīramna-lohi go-satasahasa[hasa] hala-satasahasapadāyī* (E, I 1), i.e., *aneka-hīraṇṇa-lohi-go-satasahasas-hala-satasahasapadāyī*, epithet of Śiri Chāntamūla Cf *aneka-hīroga-lohi-go-hala-satasahasapadāyīno* in the Hīrahadagallī grant, II 10 11, and *anēka gū hīraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānash pravṛddha dharmasāśchayasya*
- mahūrā-a-Śrī-Shandavarmanah* in the Pīkara grant of Simhavarmān, *Ep. Ind* Vol VIII, p. 161 II 5-6 Cf also *ti-go-satasahasadēna* in Kārlē inscriptions, *Ep Ind* Vol VII, p. 57, and *tri-go-satasahasradēna* in Nāsik inscriptions, *Ep. Ind* Vol VIII, p. 78.
- antevāsīla* (C 1, I 12, C 2, I. 10), Pali *antevāsī*, *antevāsīla* "a disciple."
- savathesu apatihata-samlapa*=Skt *sarvārtheshu apratihata samkalpa*, epithet of Śiri-Chāntamūla Cf *appatihata-sāsaṇassa* in the Hīrahadagallī grant, I 10
- Aparamahāvīnasehiya* (C 1, I 10, C 2, I 8, E, I 2), name of a Buddhist sect See above, p. 10. The name presumably is identical with Pali *Aparasehiya*, Skt. *Aparasāliya*, a subdivision of the Theravāda. Cf. M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* p 7, but cf. p 21
- ayala* (F, I 2), i.e., *ayyaka*=Skt *āryaka*.
- ayilā* (F, I. 2), i.e., *ayyilā*=Skt. *āryikā*
- ayira-hamgha* (C 1, I 11, C 2, I. 10)=Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*. Cf. *ayira*, *aira* in Amarāvati inscriptions, Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1276 and 1280
- ayya vadhamile vejayile* (E, I. 1) Cf *appana kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhamile veyya-vejayile* "while he made (the gift) a means of the increase of the merits

longevity, power and fame of (his) own family and race" (Buhler) in the Hira-
hadagallu grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, l 9, *Ep Ind.*, Vol I,
p. 6; *amha-vejayāke [dham]m-āyu-bala-vadhamāke* "for conferring on ourselves
victory (in war) and for increasing (our) merit, length of life, and power"
(Hultzsch) in the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, *Ep Ind.*, Vol. VI, p 87,
amham āyu-bala-vaddhanīyam-lātūna "making (it) a means for increasing our
length of life and power." (Hultzsch) in the British Museum plate of Chārudēvi,
Ep Ind., Vol VIII, p 146 The Sanskrit equivalent of the term is found
in the Chammak and Siwanī grants of Pravarasena II (*Gupta Inscriptions*,
pp 238 and 246) and in the Uruvapalli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p 52) Cf
also *chhatrapasa saputra-darasa ayu-bala-vardhne* in the Taxila plate of Patika (*Ep*
Ind., Vol IV, p 56) and *J R. A S* for 1924, p. 402

alamdā (F, l 3), perhaps Skt *ālinda* m "a terrace in front of the house-door," Pali
ālinda "a terrace or verandah outside a house" *Mahāvagga*, VI, 36, 4=
Vinaya Piṭakam (ed Oldenberg) Vol I, pp. 247 f, *Chullavagga*, VI, 3, 5 and
14, 1=*Vin Pi.*, Vol II, pp 153 and 169 The *ālinda* is not necessarily a
terrace or verandah outside a building, as is proved by *Mahāvamsa* XXXV,
3, *Taiheva Lohapāsāde Thūpārāmūposathavhaye kuchchhū-ājaraṇā lāresi kuchchhū*
ālindam eva cha "He made an inner courtyard and an inner verandah in the
Lohapāsāda." Cf. P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp 54 ff,
and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J.A.O.S.*, Vol XLVIII, p. 252.

ācharya (C 1, ll 10 and 11), written with short initial *a* in line 8 of inscription C 2
=Skt. *āchārya*, Pali *āchariya*, "a teacher."

Ānanda (C. 1, l 12; C 2, l 10), i.e., *Ānanda*, a personal name

Ikshāku, i.e., *Ikshāku*=Skt. *Ikshvāku*, Pali *Oḷlāka*, the legendary progenitor of the Solar
race

Ikshāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabbhava-vamsa-sambhava (F, l 1)=Skt *Ikshvāku-rāja-pravara-rshi-*
sata-prabhava-vamśa-sambhava, an epithet of the Buddha.

udāsāya (H, l 13). Cf Skt. *uddīśya*, Pali *uddīssa* (absol of *ud-āśati*) "to point out",
"on behalf of, on account of"

unisa (J, l 2)=Skt. *usknīsha*, "a coping-stone" Frequently met with in Amarāvati
inscriptions The word appears to designate not only the coping stone which
forms the crowning member of the railing enclosing the *stūpa*, but also the
frieze running along the top of the sculptured facing of such a monument.
Cf Acharya, *op cit*, pp. 99 f.

ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivānathanāya (A 3, l 8, etc, *passim*) and *ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-ā-*
vahanathanāya (B 2, l 5) Cf. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 229.

ubhāyita (B 5, l 6), i.e., *ubbhayita*=Skt. **ūrdhvayita* from *ubha*=Skt. *ūrdhva*. Cf. Pischel,
Grammatik, § 300

uvaruamni[īam] (F, l 3)=Skt *uparivarṇitam*.

uvāsikā (F, l 2)=Skt. *upāsikā*

ovaraka (F, l 3) "a cell"=Skt. **apavaraka* Cf Lüders, *List, Index* s.v. *apavaraka*,
uyaraka, *uvavaraka*, *ovaraka*

Kamdasiri (A 2, l 6, etc, *passim*), a personal name.

Karumbudhina (F, l 2), a personal name.

kavapa (A 3, l 6, etc, *passim*)=Skt *kṛpāṇa*, Pali *kapaṇa*, "poor, miserable, wretched, a
beggar."

- Kulakula* (B 4, l. 3), name of a clan
h. 'aha vihāva (F, l. 3), name of a monastery
lath[ā]kārila (F, l. 2)=Skt *kōshikāgārika*, "a treasurer, a superintendent of a royal store house" Cf *lothagula* in Sohgaure copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 937)
[hə]da[ba]hsiri (II, l. 11), a personal name.
khanya (H, l. 12) "a pillar" (?) Cf Pali *khānu* Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, sub *Corrigenda*, p 622, under *khānu*
khanda, i.e., *khanda* (in personal names)=Skt *Śhanda*
Khandachalikummanala (B 4, l. 4), a personal name Dr Sten Konow suggests Kanarese *chalikranala*=moon, from Kanarese *chali*=cold
Khandavisākhana (B 2, l. 4)=Skt *Śhanda viśālha*, a personal name
Khandasāgara[n]jala (A 3, l. 7, etc.) and *Khandasāgaramnaga* (E, l. 1)=Skt *Śhanda-sāgara*, a personal name.
khambha, i.e., *khambha* (passim), "a pillar," from Vedic *śkambha* Cf. Fischel, *Grammatik*, § 306 Also in *sela-khambha* (q.v.).
qahapati (F, l. 2)=Skt *grihapati*
qharani (J, l. 1)=Skt *grihinī*
chala-lalhana sulumāra sujāta-charana (F, l. 1)=Skt. *chakra-lalshana*², an epithet of the Buddha
Chandamulha (F, l. 3)=Skt *Chandramulha*, a personal name
Chandamulhana (F, l. 2), cf Skt. *Chandramulha*, a personal name
Chāntamūla, see, Sri *Chāntamūla*
Chāntisiri (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim) or *Chāntisirinikā* (B 5, l. 5), a personal name
chātudisa saṅgha (II, ll. 12-13)=Skt *chāturdśah sangha*
chātusala (E, l. 2), i.e., *chatussāla*, Skt *chatuśśāla*, Pali *chatussāla*, "a quadrangular building built round an inner courtyard, a cloister or quadrangle" Cf *Mṛichchhakatikā* (ed Stenzler) p 46 l. 20, *vihāram sachatuśśālam*, *Rājat* III. 13, *Mahāvamsa* XV, 47 and 50, XXXV, 88, Nāsik Cave (No. 10) Inscription, L. 2, *Ep Ind.*, Vol VIII, p 78. Acharya, *op cit*, p 193
Chula-Chandamulha (F, l. 2)=Skt *Kshudra-Chandramulha*, a personal name
Chula Chāntisirinikā (B 4, l. 5), a personal name
Chula-Buddhā (K)=Skt *Kshudra-Buddhā*, a personal name
Chula-Mūla (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Kshudra-Mūla*, a personal name
chetiya-ghara (E, l. 1 and F ll 2 and 3)=Skt *chaitya-griha*, "an apsidal temple or Chaitvahal." The term seems to be employed synonymously with *sela-mamḍata* The word *chetiya-ghara* is frequently met with in inscriptions and applies equally to structural and rock cut shrines Cf Lüders, *List, Index* and *Mahāvamsa* XXXI, 52
chhattha (E, l. 2, F, l. 2), i.e., *chhattha* "sixth"=Skt *shashtha*.
chhatthi, i.e., *chhatthi*, in the personal name *Chhatthisiri* (C 4, l. 6)
Chhadakapavaticha (J, l. 1), a personal name (?) Cf below under "Geographical Terms."
jām[ā]lukasa (E, l. 1)=Skt *jāmātṛikasya*
juta-kāma kodha bhaya harisa-tarisa-moha-dosa sad[ā]pita-Māra-bala-dapa-māna pasamana-kara (F, l. 1)=Skt *juta-kāma-krodha-bhaya harsha tarsha-mōha-dvēsha-kabdāpita-Māra-bala-darpa-prasamana-kara*, an epithet of the Buddha

² [See footnote 1 on page 22, above.—Ed]

ṛta-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamuta (A 2, l 2, etc.)=Skt *ṛta-rāga-dvēsha mōha-vipramukta*, epithet of the Buddha Rāga, dosa, moha, "lust, hatred, and delusion" are the three Aggus, Kiñchanas, or Akusala mūlas symbolised in the centre of the "Wheel of Existence" by three animals a dove or cock, a snake and a hog.

tarisa (E, l 1)=Skt *tarsha* "thirst"

taruna-dīvasakara-pabha (F, l 1)=Skt *°prabha*, an epithet of the Buddha

talāka (F, l 3)=Skt *taḍāga*, "a tank or cistern"

tini (F, l 3), instr *timhi*, (F, l 3) "three"

tera (F, l 1) "thirteenth"

teloka-dhamma-dhurā-īaha (G, l 1)=Skt *trailōlya-dharma dhurā vaha*, an epithet of the Buddha

thambha in *sela-thambha* (C 2, l 8)=Skt *stambha*, Pali *thambha* "a pillar, a column, a stele"

thera, combined with personal names (F, ll 3-4, H, l 14)=Skt *sthamra*, Pali *thera*, "a senior monk, an elder"

theriya (F, l 1), derived from *thera*, adj "belonging to *theras*," subst 'fraternity, community'

darisana (F, l 1)=Skt *darśana*, Pali *dassana* Cf Pischel, *Grammatik*, §135

dasabala-mahābala (F, l 1)=Skt *daśabala mahābala*, an epithet of the Buddha

dināri-māsaka (B 5, l 6), Skt *dināra*, from Latin *denarius*, "an Indian coin struck in imitation of and called after the Roman Denarius" and Skt *māsha(ka)*, "a certain weight and monetary value" *Manu* VIII, 135, 298, 392

divasa (E, l 2)=Skt *divasa* Elsewhere (C 2, l 11) abbreviated as *diva*

Dīgha-Majhima-pa[m]jcha-mātula-desaka-vāchaka, and *Dīgha-Majhima nikāya-dhara* (C 1, ll 11-12 and C 2, ll 9-10), corrected reading Cf *Vinaya-dhara* and *Mahāvīnaya-dhara* in Amarāvati inscriptions Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p 37, No VIII, and p 102, No 25 The word *-dhara* in these compounds must have the same meaning as Arabic *hāfiẓ* "one who has the whole Qur'ān by heart"

duhutā (B, l 3)=Skt *duhitā* "a daughter", gen, instr sing, *dhūtuya*, (F, l 3, H, l 9).

deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desika (F, l 1)=Skt *dēva-manushya-sarva-sattva-hita-sukha-mārga-dēśika*, an epithet of the Buddha

devarāja-sakata (A 2, l 1, etc, passim)=Skt. *dēvarāja-satkṛta*, an epithet of the Buddha. *-desaka* (C 1, l 11 "osaka", C 2, l 9 "desa") "a preacher".

Dhanala (B 2, l 4), a clan name

Dhamma (K, l 1)=Skt *Dharma*, a personal name

Dhamma[ghosa] (H, l 14)=Skt *Dharmaghōsha*, a personal name.

Dhammanandi (F, l 4), i.e., *Dhammanandi*, a personal name

dhātuvara-parigahita (B 4, l 3, etc, passim)=Skt *dhātuvara-parigrahita* "absorbed by the best of elements (*dhātu*), i.e., by Nirvāṇa".¹

natu (K) in *sanatuka*, i.e., *sanattula*=Skt *sanaptika*

nattī (H, l 8)=Skt *naptṛī*, "a grand-daughter"

¹ The above interpretation I owe to the courtesy of M L de la Vallée Poussin, who adds "If the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas, a conjectural explanation of *dhātuvara* as *Dharmadhātu* would not be excluded. The *Dharmadhātu* was sometimes a kind of Buddhist Brahman for the followers of the Mahāyāna."

[To me it does not appear to be impossible that the Mahāchetya has been specified in these inscriptions as 'protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha' and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this *stūpa* from others not similarly consecrated. Inscription E gives *dhātu-pari* only —Ed.]

navakama and *navakamma* (C 1, l 12, C 2, l 11, F, l 3)=Skt *navakarman*, Pali *navakamma*, "a religious building dedicated by some lay-member to the Sangha". The procedure by which a superintendent of works (*navakammika*) is appointed by the chapter of *Bhikkhus* in order to supervise the construction of a *navakamma* is described in *Chul'avagga* VI, 5=*Vinaya Pitakam* (ed Oldenberg), Vol II, pp. 159 f (*S B E*, Vol XX, pp 189 ff) "If the buildings were for the *Bhikkhus*, then a *Bhikkhu*, if for the *Bhikkhunīs*, then a *Bhikkhunī*, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments" Cf. also *Sutta-vibhanga*, *Bhikkhunī vibhanga* I, 1=*Vinaya Pitakam*, Vol IV, p 211 The word *navakamma* frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions

navakammika (F, l 3) "a *Bhikkhu* or *Bhikkhunī* appointed by the Chapter as a superintendent of the building operations of a *navakamma*, (see preceding article). Cf. Luders, *List*, Nos 154, 773, 987 and 1250 A synonymous term is *lam-mi-ādāhithāyaka*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 98.

Nākā (K)=Skt *Nāgā*, a personal name

Nāga (F, l 4)=Skt *Nāga*, a personal name.

Nāgatara (J, l. 1), a personal name

Nāgamna (F, l 3), a personal name.

Nāgabodhinilā (F, l 3), a personal name.

nārā-desa-samanāguta (E, l 2) "assembled (?) from various countries"

nīkapamila (E, l 2), a word of uncertain meaning

nīhapita or *nithapita* (C 1, l 12, C 2, l 11), Pali *nīthāpita*, past participle of *nīthāpeti*, "to complete", *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, 1, 2 Cf Pali *nīthita* completed, *thūpe anīthite yeva*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXIX, 53, *thūpe anīthitam kammam nīthāpehi* ibid, XXXII, 2

nivāna-sampatti-sampādake (A 3, l 9, etc, passim)=Skt *nirvāna-sampatti-sampādakē*, *pamchama* (E, l 2) "fifth".

paṭa (J, l 2 and K) "a slab" Frequently in *Amarāvati* inscriptions; see Luders, *List*, *Index* Also in compound *sapaṭa-samihara* (F, l 2), "with a floor of (stone) slabs"

paṭibhāga (A 2, ll 6-7, etc, passim) in compound *samana-bamhūna* The word corresponds with Skt *pratibhāga*,¹ Pali *patibhāga*=counterpart, likeness. But the word wanted here is *apatibhāga*, Pali *appaṭibhāga* "unequalled, unparallelled, 'matchless'"

paṭihapita (A 3, l 9), i.e., *paṭihāpita*, Skt *pratiṣṭhāpita* "erected, set up, dedicated"

Paduma (K)=Skt *Padma*, a personal name

Padumavān (J, l. 1), a personal name

Padumā (K)=Skt *Padmā*, a personal name.

padhāna-sālā (F, l 3)=Skt *pradhāna-sālā*, "a hall for practising religious exercises", from Pali *padhāna* "exertion, energetic effort, striving, concentration of mind". Cf *padhāna-ma[mā]* in *Amarāvati* inscriptions Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 105, No. 49, Luders, *List*, No 1230 and correction, p 179.

parigaha (E, l 2)=Skt *parigraha*, Pali *pariggaha*, "grace, favour"

parigahita or *parigahita* in *dhātuvāra-parigahita* (q v) and *Virūpākṣhapati-Mahāsena-parigahita* (q v) The meaning of *parigahita* in these two compounds appears to be "absorbed by"

¹ [But Skt *pratibhāga* means 'gift' or 'share' also.—Ed.]

² ["protected by"—Ed.]

parināmetuna[n] passim, absolutivum of *parināmeti*=Skt *parināmayati*, Pali *parināmeti* (caus of *parināmeti*) "to bend to, to change into, to turn to use for somebody, to apportion, to destine" *Mahādevi Bapisirinilā apāno mātaram Hammāsirinilam parināmetuna* (C 2, l 7) and *Mahādevi Chhahisiri apāno mātaram Hammāsirinilam parināmetuna* (C 4, l 7) It is clear that *parināmetuna* is used here in the same sense as *purato latūnam* in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions *apāno mātaram Nāgālinim purato latūnam* "having associated [with him] his mother Nāgālini" (Bühler) In the expression *apāno ubhaya-lulam parināmetuna* (B 2, l 5, C 1, l 3, C 5, l 4) it is also used with the object in the accusative Elsewhere we find *apāno ubhaya-lulasa aticchitām-anāgata ratamānāle* or *ratamānālānam* in which the connection with the absolutivum *parināmetuna* is not clear Cf Buddhist Skt *parināmayati* (*Mahāvastu*, Vol I, pp 81 and 309)

parajita (E, l 1), i.e., *parajanta*=Skt *pravrajita*, Pali *pabbajita*
pas[ā]dāla (E, l 1)=Skt *pasādāla*, Pali *pasādāla* "converting to the Buddhist faith".
pāsāda in *Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda* (F, l 3) q.v.
pituchhā (A 2 l 5, etc., passim)=Pali *pituchchhū* "a father's sister, a paternal aunt".
 Cf Fischele, *Grammatik*, § 148
pituno (F, l 2) gen sing=Skt *pituh*
pura-dāra (F, l 3), i.e., *purva-dāra*=Skt *pūrvā-dāra* "the eastern gate or entrance" The word *dāra* is frequently met with in Amarāvati inscriptions Cf Luders, *Last*, *Indcz*, under *dāra*

purva-disā-bhāga (F, l 2)=Skt *pūrvā-disā bhāga*
Pūliya, *Pukīya* (A 2, l 6, C 3, l 7, C 5, l 2), *Pugīya* (E, l 1), a clan name
Bapisirinilā (C 2, l 6), a personal name Cf Bapisiri in Luders, *Last*, No 1213 (Amarāvati inscription) and names like Bappuka (*Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 282), Bappārya (*Gupta Insers*, p 243), Bappasvāmm (*ibidem*, p 105) and Bāppadēva (*ibidem*, p 249), Bappakā (*Rājat* VII, 1128)

Bahusutiya (G, l 8)=Skt *Bahusrutiya*, Pali *Bahussutiya*, name of a Buddhist sect It was a subdivision of the Gokulika sect which belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas.
 Cf M Walleiser, *Die Selten des alten Buddhismus*, pp 6 and 21

bālilā (B 4, l 3, B 5, l 3 ex conjectura, C 2, l 6, C 4, l 5)

Budhamnilā (F, l 3), a personal name

Budharānili[nā] (F, l 2), a personal name

Budhā (K), a personal name

Budhinaḥa (F, l 2), a personal name

Budhi[rā]niya (F, l 2), a personal name

Bodhi (F, l 2)=Skt *Bōdhi*, a personal name.

Bodhika (F, l 2)=Skt *Bōdhika*, a personal name.

Boāhi-rukha-pāsāda (F, l 3)=Skt *Bōdhi-ruksha-prāsāda*, Pali *Bodhi-rukha prāsāda*, "a shrine of the Bodhi-tree" G Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p 212

Bodhisamma (F, l 2)=Skt *Bōdhisarman*, a personal name Cf. Luders, *Last*, No 1200

Bodhisiri (F, l 2)=Skt *Bōdhisīrī*, a personal name

bhaginī (A 3, l 5, etc., passim), instr. sing *bhaginīyā* (H, l 10)=Skt *bhaginī* "sister"
bhagamī-Ānamdena (C 1, l 12) and *bhadant-Ānamdena* (C 2, l 10)=Skt *bhadant-Ānandēna*
 "by the Reverend Ānanda".

Bhatidevā (G, l 7), a personal name.

bhātuno, gen sing (F, 1 2)=Skt *bhātuh*

Bhada (F, 1 2), i.e., *Bhadda*=Skt. *Bhadra*, a personal name

Bhadasiri (F, 1 3), i.e., *Bhaddasiri*=Skt *Bhādasrī*, a personal name

bharyā (A 2, 1 6, etc., passim) and *bhayā* (B 2, 1 4, B 4, 1 5)=Skt. *bhāryā*, Pali *bharyā*

bhāgineya (F, 1. 2)=Skt *bhāgincya*, "a sister's son"

bhātuno (F, 1 3) gen sing =Skt *bhrātuh*, *bhātunam*, gen plur =Skt. *bhrātṛinām*.

bhātu-puta (F, 1 2)=Skt *bhrātṛi putra*, "a brother's son"

Maṣṭhima-māyā, see *Dīgha-Maṣṭhima māyā*

mantava, *namdāva* (F, 1 3)=Skt *mandapa*

Mahākandāsiri (C 5, 1 2), a personal name Cf *Kandāsiri*

mahāgaṇi-vasabha yamdha-hathi (A 2, 1 2, etc., passim)=Skt *mahāgaṇi-vṛishabha gandha-hastin*, an epithet of the Buddha For *mahāgaṇi* cf *Mahāvamsa* XXIX, 30.

Mahā-Chandamulha (F, 1 2)=Skt *Mahā-Chandramulha*, a personal name

Mahāchetiya and *Mahūchetiya* (A 2, 1. 3, etc., passim)=Skt *Mahāchaitya*, "Great Chaitya," loc sing *Mahūchetiyamhi* (C 4, 1 2, ex conjectura)

mahātālavarā (A 2, 1 6, etc., passim), a title of uncertain meaning, evidently denoting "a high dignitary or a feudal lord" See above, p 6.

mahātālavarā (A 3, 1 7, etc., passim), "the wife of a *mahātālavarā*."

mahādandanāyaka (B 2, 1 4)=Skt *mahādandanāyaka* "a high, probably judicial, official" Cf *J R A S*, 1924, p 402

mahādūnapatni (A 3, 1 7, etc., passim)=Skt **mahādūnapatnī* "a mistress of munificence" an epithet of Chūntisiri Cf *mahādūnapati* in *Tavila* plate inscription *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX, p 56

mahādevī (B 5, 1 4, C 2, 1 6, G, 1 7, H, 1 11), a title borne by the consort of a ruling chief

mahādhammakāṭhika (H, 1 14)=Skt *mahādḥarmakāṭhika* "a great preacher of the Law." Cf Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p 94

mahābhikkhu-saṃgha (E, 1 1), i.e., *mahābhikkhu-sangha*

mahāmātulā (F, 1. 2) Cf Pali *mahāmātā* "a grandmother".

Mahā-Mūla (F, 1. 2)=Skt. *Mahā-Mūla*, a personal name.

mahāvihāra (B 5, 1. 5, F, 1. 3)

mahāsēnāpati (A 3, 1 7, etc., passim)=Skt *mahāsēnāpati*, lit "Commander-in-Chief" but here used as a title designating a feudal lord According to the late Dr. Fleet it "denotes equal rank with Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 15, n) See above, p 6.

mahāsēnāpatni (B 4, 1 5), Skt **mahāsēnāpatnī* "the wife of a *mahāsēnāpati*".

Mah[śā]saka (G, 1 12), Skt. *Mahśāsaka*, Pali *Mahimsāsaka*, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Theravādins and appears to have flourished in the Andhra country. Cf M. Walleiser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp 7 and 22

Māḍharīputa (A 2, 1 5, etc., passim) and *Māḍharīputa* (E, 1 1; F. 1. 1; H, 1. 8)=Skt *Māḍharīputra*, metronymic of *Siri-Virapurisadatta*.

mātā (A 3, 1 7, etc., passim) "mother", acc. sing. *mālarām* (C 2, 1. 7; C 4, 1. 7) instr. and gen. sing. *mātuya* (F, 1. 2; G, 1. 7).

mātuka, see *ṣaṃcha-mātuka*.

Misri (F, 1. 3), i.e., *Misrī*=Skt. *Misrī*, a personal name

Mūla (F, 1 3), a personal name

Mūlamnikā (F, 1 3), a personal name

Mūlatāniya (F, 1 2), a personal name

Rudradharabhatta[rīkā] (B 5, 1 3)=Skt *Rudradharabhattārīkā*, a personal name of a queen, probably belonging to the ruling house of Ujjayinī See above, p 4

Revata (F, 1 2), a personal name

Revatimnīā (F, 1 2), a personal name

-vadhākī (F, 1 4)=Skt *vadhakī*, Pali *vaddhakī*, Hindi *barhai*, "a carpenter, builder, architect, mason" Cf *vadhakī* in Karle inscription, Lüders, *List*, No 1092 and *vadhakī* in Sāncī inscription, *ibidem*, No 495 In inscr F, 1 4 the word occurs in the compound *sela-vadhākī*=Skt *śaila-vadhakī*, "a stone-mason" Cf. Pali *ittakā vaddhā* "a brick mason," *Mahāvamsa* XXIX, 5, 30 and A K Coomaraswamy, *J A O S*, Vol XLVIII, p 272

vanīya(ṭa) (A 3, 1 6, etc, *passim*)=Buddhist Sanskrit *vanīyaka*, *vanīpala* "a beggar, a mendicant" Examples *Dēva na hy=ēsha Kunālō=ndhaka ēsha vanīpalaḥ patnyā saha dēvasya yānaśālāyām=avasthitah*, *Divyāvadāna*, p 414, l 18, *Mahā-lāśyapṛṣṭh dīn-ānātha-kṛpāna-vanīyak-ānūlampī*, *Divy*, p 83, l 19, *brāhmanam vā śramanam vā anyam v=āpi*, *vanīyakam*, *Mahāvastu*, Vol I, p 188, l 14

-vathara (C 1, l 11, F, 1 2), i.e., *vāthavīa*=Skt *vāstavīa* "residing at"

vāchala (C 1, l 11, C 2, l 9, restored), "a preacher"

Vāsithīputa (A 2, l 3, etc, *passim*) and *Vāsethīputa* (G, l 5, H, ll 7 and 9), i.e., *Vāsithīputta*=Skt *Vāsishthīputra*, metronymic of Sirī Chāmtamūla, Kamdasirī, Khamdachalikremmanala (?) (B 4, l 4) and Sirī-Ehuvala-Chāmtamūla (H, l 9)

Vinhusirī (C 5, l 3)=Skt *Vishnuśrī*, a personal name Cf *Vinhukā* in Sāncī inscriptions, *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 95

Vidhīṭa (F, 1 4), a personal name

Virūpākṣapati-Mahāsēna-parigahita (A 2, l 3, etc, *passim*)=Skt *Virūpākṣapati-Mahāsēna-parigṛhīta*, an epithet of Sirī-Chāmtamūla In the *Milindapañha*, pp 6 ff, Mahāsēna figures as a *devaputta* who becomes incarnate in the sage Nāgasēna

vihāra (F, 1 2, G, l 8, H, l 11), "a monastery"

Vīramna (F, 1 3), a personal name

Vīra[m]nīlā (F, 1 3), a personal name

velāmi(ṭa) (B 3, l 7, etc, *passim*, once *vailāmīṭa* A 4, l 7) in compound *samana-bamhana*°. The word appears to be an adjective meaning, "belonging to Velāma" Buddha (*Jātaka*, Vol I, p 228, Cambridge translation, Vol I, p 101) refers to the time of Velāma when he (Buddha) "stirred up all India by giving the seven things of price, and in [his] largesse poured them forth as though [he] had made into one mighty stream the five great rivers" He then preached the Velāmaka-Sutta (*Velāmaka-Suttam kathesi*) which is also mentioned in *Suman-gala-Vilāsini*, Vol I, p 234, l 11 It would seem, that Velāma was a legendary personage renowned in Buddhist tradition for his munificence like Vessantara with whom his name is combined in *Vibhaṅgathā-kathā*, p 414, l 6. Mr Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to a passage in *Anguttara-Nikāya*, Vol IV, pp 394-396 where the Buddha praises the liberality of a Brahmin Velāma with whom he identifies himself in a previous birth

vachhina, i.e., *vachchhinna* (A 2, l 7, etc, *passim*) in compound *samaṇa-bamhana*°=Skt. *vyavachchhinna*, past participle of *vyavachchhinatti*, passive *vyavachchhidyatē*, Pali

- vochhijate* "to be cut off" The word wanted here evidently is *avochhina*, Pali *abbochchhinna abbhochchhinna* "not cut off, uninterrupted, continuous".
- samvachhara* (E, 1 2)=Skt *samvatsara*, "a year" Elsewhere (A 3, 1. 9, etc, passim) abbreviated as *samva*, or *sam* (E, 1 2).
- sata* (F, 1 3), *ie*, *satta*,=Skt *sapta*, "seven"
- satarī-salam* (B 5, 1 6), *ie*, *sattarī salam* "one hundred and seventy." Cf Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 60
- santhara* in *sapata samtharam* (F, 1 2)=Skt *samstara*, Pali *santhara*, *santhāra* "a layer, stratum, couch, flooring". Cf *Mahāvamsa* XXX, 70.
- samana bamhana-lavana vanija[ka] dīn ānugaha velāmi[ka] dāna-paṭibhāga vochhina dhāra padāyini* (A 3, 11 67, etc, passim)=Skt *kramana brāhmaṇa kṛipana vanīyaka dīn-ānugriha vailāmika dān-āpṛatibhāg āvayavochhinnā-dhāra pradāyini*, an epithet of Chāṇṭisiri. Cf above, under *lavana*, *vanija(ka)*, *velāmi(ka)*, *paṭibhāga*, and *vochhina*.
- samma sambudha* (A 2, 1 1)=Skt *samyak-sambuddha*, Pali *sammā-sambuddha* "perfectly enlightened, a universal Buddha".
- samuthapīyamāna* (B 5, 1 6)=Skt *samutthāpyamāna*, present participle passive of *samutthāpayati*, Pali *samutthāpeti* "to found, originate".
- surada sasi soma darisana* (F, 1 1)=Skt *sārada śaśi saumya-darśana*, an epithet of the Buddha
- saramñu*, gen *savajhñuno* (A 2, 1 1, etc, passim)=Skt. *sarvajña*, Pali *sabbhñu* "omniscient", an epithet of the Buddha
- sava niyuta* (E, 1 2, F, 1 2; cf *sava jūta*(¹) *niyuta* G, 1 8), *ie*, *savva-niyutta*=Skt. *sarva-niyukta*
- sava loka chita mahita* (F, 1 1)=Skt *sarva loka chitta mahita*, an epithet of the Buddha
- sava loka hita sukha-ānāthahanāya* (C 1, 1 9, C 1, 1 12), cf *ubhaya-loka-hita*^o
- sava sat-ānukampaka* (A 2, 1 1, etc, passim), *ie*, *savva-satt-ānukampaka*=Skt. *sarva-satt-ānukampaka*, an epithet of the Buddha
- sava sādhu vachhulā* (A 3 1 7, etc, passim)=Skt *sarva-sādhu vatsalā*, an epithet of Chāṇṭisiri
- [*sā*]dhu-*vaga* (F, 1. 3), *ie*, *sādhu-vagga*=Skt *sādhu-varga*
- Siri-Ehuvāla*-(*Ehuvuḷa*)-*Chātamūla* (G, 1 7, H, 11 3 and 10), a personal name
- Siri-Chātamūla* (A 2, 1 5, etc, passim), a personal name Sometimes *Chātamūla*.
- Siri Virapurisadatta* (A 2, 1 5, etc, passim) -*Vīra* (E, 1 2 and G, 1 6)=Skt *Śrī-Vīra-purushadatta*, a personal name
- sunhā* (F 1 3, G, 1. 5)=Skt *snushā*, Pali *sunāsā*, *sunhā* "a daughter-in-law"
- supabudhu-bodhi* (B 5, 1 1)=Skt. *suprabuddha-bōdhi*, an epithet of the Buddha
- suparigaha* (F, 1 1, H, 1 11)=Skt *suparigraha*, "grace, acceptance"
- suparigahita* (C 1, 1 10, C 2, 1 8)=Skt. *suparigrahita*, Pali *supariggahita*, "well favoured, graced, ie, accepted by"
- sela thambha* (B 4, 1 6, B 5, 1 4, C 2, 1 8, C 5, 1 5)=Skt *śaila-skambha* "a stone pillar" Cf above, under *thambha*
- sela thambha* (C 2, 1 8)=Skt *śaila-stambha*, "a stone pillar." Cf above, under *thambha*
- sela-mamfata* (E, 1 2) and *sela mandava* (F, 1 3)=Skt *śaila mandapa*, "a stone shrine",
- sela vadhāki* (F, 1 4), see above, under *vadhāki*
- sodarā bhaginī* (A 2, 1 5, etc, passim) and once *sahodar[ā]-bhaginī* (E, 1. 2) "a sister born from the same womb", gen. sing. *sodarāya bhaginīya* (C 2, 1. 5).
- soma* (F, 1. 1)=Skt. *saumya*, Pali *somma*,

Hagasiri (J, l 1), a personal name Cf Lüders, *List*, No 1284

Haghamna (F, l 2), from Skt *sangha* (?), a personal name.

Hamgha, i.e., *Hangha*, = Skt *Sangha*, in personal names Cf Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1240, 1262, 1271, 1272, 1274, 1281.

Hammasirivikā (C 2, ll 5 and 7, C 4, ll 5 and 7) or *Hammasiri* (C 4, l 5), a personal name

harisa (F, l 1) = Skt *harsha*

Hiramñala, i.e., *Hiraññaka* (B 4, l 4), a clan name.

hīramna-loti go-satasahasā hala-satasahasā-padāyī (A 2, l 4, etc., passim), see *anēla-hīramna-loti* °

Hugha (K, l 1) = Skt *Sulha* (?), a personal name

hemanta-pālha (E, l 2, F, l 1) = Skt *hēmanta-pālsha*.

Geographical names.

Avaramta (F, l 1), i.e., *Ataranta*, Skt *Aparānta* (la), Pali *Aparanta* (la), a country of the Western coast of the Peninsula, corresponding to the Northern Konkan, the capital of which was *Sōpārā*, the ancient *Sūrpārāla*¹ *Aparanta* is mentioned in Rock-Edict V of Aśoka in connection with the appointment of *dhamma-mahāmāta*s, in Nāsik Cave III inscr. among the dominions of Gautamīputra Śātakarni (*Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 60) and in the Junāgadh rock inscription of Rudradāman It was converted by Yonaka-Dharmarakkhita, *Dīpav* VIII, 7 *Mahāvamsa* XII, 4 and 34 Cf. also *Milinda* p 331, Lüders, *List*, Nos 965, 1013 A[pa]rāntikā (?), 1123. Skt *Aparānta* la Cf *Raghu*. IV, 53

Ujjenikā (B 5, l 3, ex conjectura for "Ujanikā"), i.e., *Ujjenikā*, adj from *Ujjeni*, Skt *Ujjayini*, Pali *Ujjeni*, Gr Ὀζήνη (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 63), modern Ujjain, a famous town in Central India

Kamṣakasela (F, l. 3, ex conjectura for "Kamtakasola"), i.e., *Kantalasela*, Skt. *Kantakataila*, Gr Καντακοσσύλα ἐμπόριον (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15) a town in Maisolia See above, p 8

Kasmira (F, l 1) Skt *Kaśmīra*, Pali *Kasmira*, modern Kashmir, a country in the Western Himālaya Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav* VIII, *Mahāv* XII

Gandhāra (F, l 1), i.e., *Gandhāra*, Skt Pali *Gandhāra*, the Trans-Indus country and the district of Taxila. Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav* VIII, *Mahāv* XII

Govagāma (F, l 2), Skt *Gōpagrāma* (?) The ancient name of the town Goa on the West Coast is Govapurī, Skt *Gōpakapurī*. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 117. *Jour Bombay Hist Soc*, Vol I, pp 220 f), but here some other locality appears to be meant

Chilāta (F, l 1), Skt *Kirāta*, Mahārāshtri *Chilāda*, *Chilāa*, Ardhamāgadhi *Chilāya*, Gr. Κίρράδαι (*Periplus*, § 62, Ptolemy, VII, 2, 2), Κίρραδία (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 16) and Τιλάδαι (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 15), an un-Aryan tribe frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature Cf *Milinda* pp 327 and 331 (Read *Chilāta* instead of *Vilāta*)

China (F, l 1, coupled with *Chilāta*), name of a country and its inhabitants.

Chula-Dhammagiri (F, l. 2), see *Dhammagiri*.

¹ Cf. Jarl Charpentier *J B A. S.*, 1927, pp 111 sq. and *ibid.*, 1928, p 410

- Chhadakaparat[ī]cha* (J, 1 1), perhaps an adjective from *Chhadakapavata* Cf. [*Chhada*]-*lichā* "an inhabitant of Chhadaka" (?) Lüders, *List*, No 1220 (Amarāvati)
- Tambapamni-dīpa*, i.e., *Tambapannī-dīpa* and adj. *Tambapamnaka* (F, 1. 1), Skt *Tāmaparna-dvīpa*, Gr *Ταπροβάνη* (Ptolemy, VII, 4, 1), the Island of Ceylon
- Tosali* (F, 1. 1), a country and town on the coast of Kalinga, mentioned in the two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauhi and two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district (*Ep Ind*, Vols IX, p 286 and XV, p. 1), *Τωσάλη μητρόπολις* erroneously located by Ptolemy (VII, 2, 23) in Trans-Gangetic India Perhaps identical with *Δωσάρα* (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 77) and *Δωσαρηνή* (*Periplus*, 47) Cf above, p 7
- Damila* (F, 1 1, reading uncertain), Skt *Dravida*, Pali *Damila*, the Tamil country and people on the coast of Coromandel.
- Deiagiri* (F, 1 3), a hill (?), site of a *padhāna-sālā* founded by Bodhisiri
- Dhammagiri* (*Mahā-* and *Chula-* in F, 11 2 and 3), i.e., *Dhammagiri* Skt *Dharmagiri*, a hill The Chula-Dhammagiri was the site of a monastery, where Bodhisiri founded the *chetrīya-ghara* or apsidal shrine mentioned in inser F. It appears, therefore, to be the ancient name of the hill now known as Naharālābōḍu
- Pannagāma* (C 1, 1 11, C 2, 1 10), i.e., *Pannagāma*, Skt *Parnagrāma* (?), a village.
- Papilā* (F, 1 3), a locality
- [*Pa*]lura (F, 1 1, first syllable restored), a town in Kalinga, identified with Dantapura (S Lévi, *J A*, Vol CCVI, 1925, pp 46 ff, *Ind Ant*, Vol LV, pp 94 ff). Ptolemy mentions *Παλούρα πόλις ἐν Γαγγητικῷ κόλπῳ* (I, 5, 16) and *Πάλουρα πόλις* at the western-most mouth of the Ganges
- Purphagiri* (F, 1 3), i.e., *Purphagiri*, Skt *Pushpagiri* ("Flower Mountain"), a hill (?), site of a *sela-maṇḍava* or stone shrine founded by Bodhisiri
- Puvaseḷa* (F, 1 3), i.e., *Puvaseḷa*, Skt *Pūrvaśaila* ("Eastern Mountain"), a hill
- Mahā-Dhammagiri* (F, 1 3), see *Dhammagiri*
- Yaiā[na]* (F, 1 1), Skt *Yavana*, Pali *Yona*, designation originally of the Greeks (Ionians), subsequently of other foreign nations Converted by Mahārakkhita, *Dīpav.* VIII, 9, *Mahāv* XII, 5 and 39-40 Cf *Sala-Yavane* in *Milinda* pp 327 and 331.
- Tamga* (F, 1 3), i.e., *Vanga*, Skt and Pali *Vanga*, modern Bengal
- Vanavāsi* (F, 1 1) and *Vānavāsala* (H, 1 10), Skt and Pali *Vanavāsa*, Gr *Βαναβάσι* (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 83), a country corresponding to North Kanara The village of Banavāsi is situated in latitude 14° 33', longitude 75° 5' in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. It lies close to the border of Mysore territory and North Kanara Vanavāsa was converted to Buddhism by Rakkhita, *Mahāv* XII, 4 Cf also *Ep. Ind*, Vol III, p. 117 *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* V, 23 (ed Bühler), p 34, *Mahāvamsa* XII, 31, XXIX, 42
- Vijayapurī* (F, 1 2), a town (?) to the east of which the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri was situated Cf Lüders, *List*, No 1285.
- Siripavata* (F, 1 2), i.e., *Siripavata*, Skt *Śrīparvata*, a mountain, apparently the site of a *vihāra* or monastery mentioned in connection with the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri. See above, p. 9
- Sihala* in *Sihala-vihāra* (F, 1 3), the Singhalese or Ceylonese Monastery, where Bodhisiri had founded a *Bodhi-rukkha-pāsāda* or "Shrine of the Bodhi-tree."
- Hirumuḥuva* (F, 1. 3), a locality.

TWO ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

By J PH VOGEL, Ph D

After the above paper had been completed, Mr Longhurst sent me estampages of two more inscriptions discovered by him in the course of his excavations at Nāgārjunikonda. Both are found incised on sculptures.

One of these inscriptions occurs on a footprint slab.¹ It consists of one line of writing and comprises twenty-three *aksharas*, the concluding letter being written below the line owing to want of space. The *aksharas* measure from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The lettering is distinct, except some of the vowel-marks. It will be observed that the inscription is crossed by a series of nine vertical lines which possibly have some connection with the footprint carved on the slab.

The inscription records the donation of a *patipadā*. It would follow that this word, corresponding to Sanskrit *pratipadā*, ought to indicate the object on which the inscription is engraved. The technical term, however, by which a footprint slab is indicated in the *Amarāvati* inscriptions, is *paduka-pata* (i.e., *pāduka-patta*), or *pātula*², *patuka* (i.e., *pāduka*).

The donor was Budhi (i.e., Buddha), the sister of Moda, the Saka. If this interpretation is correct, the mention of a Saka or Scythian is a point of special interest. In this connection it should be noted that among the sculptures excavated by Mr Longhurst at Nāgārjunikonda there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.

In the word *bakiniya* corresponding to Sanskrit *bhaginyāh* we note a disaspiration of the initial consonant and a hardening of the *media ga* into *ka*.

TRANSCRIPT

Sid[dham] Sakasa Modasa bak[i]n[i]ya Budh[i]ya pat[i]padā deyadhama

TRANSLATION

Success.¹ A *patipadā*, the pious gift of Budhi, the sister of Moda, the Scythian.

The second inscription occurs on a carved stone slab. It consists of only three *aksharas* which I read

Dhamasa

meaning "Of Dhama". Whether this is the name of the donor or the mason, it is impossible to decide.

No 2—NALANDA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF YASOVARMADEVA

By HIRANANDA SASTRI

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper was excavated at Nālandā, the well-known ancient site of Magadha, by Mr J A Page in the official year 1925-26.¹ It was found buried in the debris of the southern verandah of the old *vihāra*—now called *Monastery I*—which has yielded not only a large number of bronze or copper images of various kinds and the very valuable copper-plate inscription of Dēvapālādēva that has been published above,² but also the earliest remains so far discovered at Nālandā.

This interesting document is engraved on the top bed of a stone capital-bracket and covers a space of $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 inches. It consists of twenty-one lines of writing and, excepting

¹ See *A S R*, 1925-26, pp 131 & 158.

² Vol. XVII, plate between pp 320 and 321.

for a crack at the middle, is fairly well-preserved. The execution is neat and calligraphic. The record is a *prasasti* drawn in florid Sanskrit and, but for the initial symbol and the words *api* *c/a* coming between the sixth and the seventh stanzas, is entirely in verse. The characters, in which it is written, belong to the northern class of alphabets and present a very marked development in contrast with those of the contemporary and even somewhat later inscriptions which have been found in Northern and Eastern India. They largely resemble the characters of the Aphisad stone inscription of Ādityasēna¹ and would, thereby, indicate that the development, we notice in them, must have taken place not later than the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era, i.e., the time to which this inscription belongs. Till now, the Gayā inscription of A.D. 588-89 was considered to be the earliest inscription to illustrate such forms. But the epigraph under publication is decidedly anterior to that record and, therefore, becomes the earliest known inscription to represent that development. The alphabet to which these characters belong may well be called acute angled (Bühler)² or *Siddhamātrikā* (Berūnī)³ in preference to the term 'nail-headed' or '*kuṭīla*'. Dēvanāgarī is an outgrowth of this *lpi*. The present record uses the bipartite form of *ya* throughout, as does the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman⁴. Nālandā is not far off from Bōdh-Gayā. This epigraph, therefore, will not countenance the supposition that the use of the bipartite *ya* in the Mahānāman inscription was "premature". The tripartite form of *ya* is found even in the Udaypur inscription of Aparāṇita,⁵ which belongs to the *Samvat* year 718 (=A.D. 661). It is to be met with not only in the inscriptional records named above, but also in the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscripts of Japan which are believed to have existed in the second half of the 6th century (A.D.). To regard an inscription as late or early merely on the ground that it uses the bipartite or the tripartite form of *ya* would not, consequently, be quite accurate. The alphabet used in this inscription is, to a large extent, identical with the modern Dēvanāgarī or Nāgarī. The chief points of difference which it presents are these. The *ā mātrā* is generally indicated by a sort of small wedge attached to the right of the top line, whereas in Nāgarī it is expressed by a full perpendicular stroke. In the case of *nā*, however, a somewhat different mode is adopted by slightly bending the right end and extending it upwards beyond the top towards the right side. The *ū mātrā* is slightly different in shape, as, e.g., in *bhūri*⁶, l. 2. The *ē mātrā* is marked in two different ways, sometimes in an elongated form of the Nāgarī symbol with a bend at about the middle, as in *dēhinām*, l. 1, and sometimes by a short curve appended to the left of the top line of the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in *ārthinē*, l. 1, or in *larēna*, l. 21. Similarly, the *ai mātrā* is expressed in two ways. In *ś-ch-aisha*, occurring in the penultimate line, it is practically similar to the Nāgarī symbol, whereas in the majority of cases it is expressed by the hook like mark attached to the left of the top line and the slanting *ē mātrā*, as, e.g., in *uchcharik*, l. 21. The *ō mātrā* is shown by the symbols of the *ā* and the *ē mātrās* combined, see, for instance, *moḥshūya* and *yō* in l. 1. The *au mātrā* is also different, e.g., see *gaura*⁷ in l. 6, or *Sauddhōdanēr* in l. 9.

As to the initial vowels, only the *ā* and the *i* retain their comparatively earlier forms. The former keeps the hook attached to its leg as in *ādēśāt*⁸, l. 12, and the latter, the two small circles placed above the reversed crescent, as in *itya*, l. 20.

In the case of consonants, the omission of the top line of the *sa*, the *ma* and the *ya* symbols is noteworthy. So, also, are the forms of the letters *bha*, *ha*, *gha* and *ja*. The symbol for *dha* is also dissimilar and still preserves the old form, as does the letter *tha*. The form of *r* in conjunction with a following consonant is also antique and noteworthy; e.g., see *śEndraiv-yaḥ* in l. 1 or *padārtha*⁹ in l. 2.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 42, plate XXVIII.

² Indian Palaeography (Ind. Ant.), Vol. XXXIII, p. 40.

³ Ibid. ⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, plate XLI A.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, plate facing p. 30.

In respect of orthography, the points which call for remark are (1) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, e.g. in *īdāhi*, ll 15 and 17, or in *Vālāditya*, l 19, and (2) the use of the *ṇ* like symbol for the conjunct *ñ*, as in *sarvārēchāṇ=janma*°, l 17

The inscription contains two words of special lexical interest. One is *śāstā* which occurs in v 14 and seems to be used in the sense of sword personified or command¹. The other is *Tikina* which comes in the third stanza and must be a foreign title, as is shown below.

The inscription, as I have stated above is a *prasasti* and its object is to record that Mālāda, the son of the minister (*mantrin*) of Yaśovarmmadēva, made certain gifts, specified herein, to the temple which king Bālāditya had erected at Nālandā in honour of the 'Son of Śuddhōdana', i.e., the Buddha. It consists of fifteen beautiful stanzas written in three different metres, namely, Śārdūlavikrīḍitam, Vasantatilakā and Śragdharā and is a Buddhist record. Commencing with an invocation of the Buddha, it extols the great king Yaśovarmmadēva as the *Lōlapāla* i.e., guardian of the world, who had risen like the sun after dispelling the darkness in the form of the enemies and after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings through untortunately, it does not mention the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. It, then, introduces the donor Mālāda and describes him as the wise, magnanimous, benevolent and victorious son of Yaśovarmmadēva's minister, whom it calls the *Mārgapati* as well as *Udīrhipati* and *pratīka-Tikina*, though it does not give his name or any other particulars about him. Mālāda is mentioned here as the brother of Nirmmalā (v 11), son (*nandana*) of Bandhumati and scion of a noble family, whose name is not stated. Giving a vivid description of the magnificent temple which king Bālāditya had built at Nālandā like a column of victory constructed after conquering the world (vv 4-10), the inscription specifies the benefactions which the donor made for that sanctuary, as well as, for the *bhikṣhus* or Buddhist monks. The gifts consisted of *ghee*, curds, a brilliant lamp, pure water mixed with fourfold fragrant objects (*chatur-jātakam*)² and refreshing like nectar, and a permanent endowment (*akshaya-nīti*, the nature of which has not been made quite clear. We are further informed that Mālāda distributed delicious food and scented water to the *bhikṣhus* and, purchasing a *layana* and other things from the 'revered *Sangha*' gave them back to the monks, herein called *Sāhyātmanas* (=the (spiritual) sons of the Buddha), excepting a *chīrarilā* (monk's robe) and *śradṣa*³ up to and beyond Narddarikā. The afore-mentioned gifts Mālāda brought himself out of his great devotion for the Buddha when he was awakened or enlightened by the illustrious monk Pūrnnēndrasēna and gave them to the monks for the welfare of his parents as well as of other relations. At the close of the inscription we are told that the *Līrti* should be respected not only because of the fear of committing the five sins (*pañcānandariya*), which accrue from the infringement of such pious deeds, but, also, because of the fear of the sword¹ of king Bālāditya, the subduer of the enemy.

¹ See *Arzrakā*, *Śabdakalpādrurī* and also Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under *Śāstri*. Or, does this word refer to an image of the Buddha (*Śāstā*) which might have been set up by Bālāditya in the temple he had built at Nālandā (see v 6 of the text)?

² The four fragrant articles are (1) *Tāl*, i.e., *Bamboo manra*, (2) *Ēlā*, i.e., *Cardamom*, (3) *Patraka*, i.e., *Laurus Casia* and (4) *Nāgākṣara*, or *Mesua Roxburghii*. Cf. *Rājanyāgarika* and *Bhāratprākāśa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpādrurī* —

Tṛg-ēlā-patrakais=tulyais=tri-sugandhu tri-jātakam |
Nāgākṣara-samyuktam chātur-jātakam=uchyatē |

³ The exact significance of this term is not clear. Possibly it meant some place for himself, if not his own country.

The last stanza tells us that the *prastā* was composed by Śilachandra and the celebrated *Karanika* Svāmidatta under the inviolable command of the *Saṅgha*

The inscription is not dated but supplies sufficient data to fix the time to which it belongs. It was written when Bālāditya was ruling and when king Yaśōvarmmadēva was holding the reins of sovereignty. That the Bālāditya of this record must be identified with the homonymous chief whom Hsuen Tsiang eulogises as the subduer of Mihirakula and the founder of the grand temple at Nālandā need not be dilated upon. The inscription itself mentions him as the builder of a magnificent sanctuary at Nālandā. That it is silent about his subjugation of the well-known Hūṇa king of Sākala (the modern Siālkot in the Panjāb) is either due to his having had very little to do in the matter, as has already been suggested by Vincent Smith,¹ or, perhaps, to the fact that this inscription came into existence before that event.² Bālāditya flourished *cir* 530 after Christ. Accordingly, Yaśōvarmmadēva, his suzerain, must have ruled about the same age. So the question arises: Who was that suzerain? He cannot be the homonymous ruler of Kanauj,³ who was routed by Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir and is better known to history as the patron of Bhavabhūti, the eminent playwright, because he came a couple of centuries after this period. The Chandel chief of the same name is also out of the question, for he belongs to a still later epoch, *i e*, the 10th century of the Christian era. I know of no other ruler of this name who could be identified with the overlord mentioned in this inscription. But a powerful ruler of the name of Yaśōdharma is known to have flourished at the time when Bālāditya reigned, *i e*, the period to which this document is assignable. According to the Mandasōr stone inscriptions,⁴ he was ruling in the Mālava year 589 (= A.D. 533-34), and was a mighty conqueror who governed the whole of Northern India from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean and erected two columns of victory with inscriptions commemorating his triumph over the foreign invaders. In view of the facts stated in all these records I am of the opinion that the Yaśōvarmmadēva of the Nālandā and the Yaśōdharma of the Mandasōr inscriptions are identical and that the late Dr Fleet was perfectly right when he thought that the name of Yaśōdharma should be corrected into Yaśōvarma.⁵ It is true that names ending in *dharma* are not unknown, but the appellation as given in the document under publication looks more reasonable and more appropriate than the one which was read in the other epigraphs. Accordingly, I would suggest that we should call the sovereign ruler who was chiefly responsible for the breakdown of the power of the Hūṇas in India early in the 6th century of the Christian era by the name of Yaśōvarmmadēva as given in the present record. From the way this inscription introduces him and Bālāditya it is evident that he was the overlord of the latter. The suzerainty of Yaśōdharma is proven by the above-mentioned inscriptions. Bālāditya, in any case, could not have had two different overlords living side by side and having practically identical names.⁶ The chief interest of this inscription, therefore, lies in its enabling us to determine

¹ *Early History of India*, 4th edn., p. 380

² It is not impossible, however, that Bālāditya fought Mihirakula—though under the supreme command of Yaśōvarmmadēva—and got the credit for ousting him (*i e*, Mihirakula)

³ The guess made in *A S R* 1925 26, p. 131 was wrong

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 34 & 35

⁵ *Ibid.*, foot note 2 on page 145

⁶ *Janēndra* in the Mandasōr inscription (l. 4) does not necessarily mean a tribal ruler as Fleet seems to have imagined. The word should be taken as a synonym of *narēndra* in the general sense, *i e*, the king of 'men.' Besides, his mention before Viṣṇuwardhana clearly shows his suzerainty. Prof. Dr. Vogel has kindly drawn my attention to the Yaśōvarmapura of the Ghōṣarūwā Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff.) which might have been designated after this monarch. The whereabouts of this place are not known. Sir Alexander Cunningham took it to be the town of Bihār which is not far off from Nālandā.

the real name of the subduer of the Hūnas in Northern India, as stated above, though, unfortunately, it does not add anything to our knowledge of his ancestry or of his successors, whoever they were. That it lends an additional support to his claim for fame and that it proves for certain that what is stated about him in the above mentioned epigraphs is not a mere 'oriental hyperbole' but rests on facts need not be emphasized.¹

Now comes the difficult problem of identifying the minister or *mantrin* who is spoken of as *Mārgapati*, *Udichipati* and *pratīta-Tikina* in this inscription. But for the reticence of the composers of the *praśasti* on the nationality and other particulars including the name of this personage, one could have known something definite about him. *Mārgapati* literally means the guardian of road or roads, but from the similar expressions occurring in the chronicles of Kashmir one could take it to mean the guardian of the passes or the frontier. The *Mārgēśas* figure very prominently in the narratives of the later chronicles of the 'Happy Valley' as Sir Aurel Stein² has already pointed out. They were also known by other names like *Mārgapas*, *Adhvāpas*, *Adhvēśas*, etc., and were generally referred to in the plural and in connection with some particular routes or passes across the mountains, like the *Maliks* of the Muhammadan times. Besides, they were the feudal chiefs who held hereditary charge of specific passes and were bound to furnish garrisons for the frontier posts on these passes in return for the revenue of certain lands assigned to them. In the inscription under notice, on the other hand, only one such 'guardian' is mentioned. He is spoken of in the singular number and is called the 'Lord of the North' and minister of Yaśovarmmadēva, the protector of the world. Apparently, he was the Chief of such Guardians of Passes whose official status must have been higher than that of the *Drāngēśas* or *Mārgēśas* of the Kashmir chronicles. What the *udichī* or north of this record connotes cannot be stated definitely but, possibly, it may not be wrong to take it in the sense of the North-West Frontier of India. This *Udichipati* or the Lord of the North was, it would seem, the Chief of the Guardians of Passes in that region. This personage is further described as *pratīta-Tikina* and the meaning of this epithet is to be determined. That *pratīta* (*prati* + *ita*) is a Sanskrit word signifying 'distinguished' or 'well-known' requires no proof. *Tikina* is not a Sanskrit word at all. Dr. Sten Konow very kindly tells me that it "is evidently Turkish *tiğin*, *teğin*, *tāğin*. It means 'a prince of the blood', and is especially used about the son or the brother of the *Khān*. The Chinese render it as *t'o-l'in*. It was one of the words first recognised by Thomsen in the Orkhon Inscriptions" and we "find several instances of its use in Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kue (Turcs) Occidentaux*". The authors of the *praśasti*, it would appear, were not aware of other particulars about this 'stranger' and therefore mentioned him by his rank or office only. The name of his son, the actual donor, was known and could not have been omitted. The inscription gives it as *Mālāda* which is also not Sanskrit—though a forced Sanskrit derivation may not be impossible.³ The other details given about the donor are that he was a scion of a stainless family and the delight, i.e., son, of *Bandhumatī* and brother of *Nirmmalā*. *Bandhumatī* and *Nirmmalā* might have been the proper names of the two ladies, his mother and his sister, or their epithets only. The former is known to be the name of several women. Both are undoubtedly Sanskrit and could have been applied to ladies of foreign descent also. *Mālāda* was, as is evidenced by this inscription, a devout Buddhist and might have been a proselyte. The offerings of a lamp, *ghee*, scented water, etc., which he brought to Nālandā out of his *bhakti* or devotion to 'the great son of *Suddhōdana*', i.e., the Buddha, are like those which the Buddhists from Tibet and other Central

¹ Cf. J. J. Modi, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIV (1914-17), p. 595.

² Notes on the *Rājataranginī*, Vol. I, p. 214, Vol. II, pp. 291 & 392.

³ However, it reminds me of *Mālāda* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā° XXXI, 9) and of the *Kavyamīmāṃsā* (Gaek. Or. Series No. I, p. 93).

Asian countries are seen bringing to the images of the Buddha at Kasiā in the Gōrākhpur district or at Bōdh-Gayā and other sacred places even now

The remaining persons spoken of in the *prasaṣṭi* are the monk Pūrṇnēndrasēna and the two poets who composed it. Whether the former belonged to Nālandā itself or to some other locality is not definitely stated in the record but it does not look improbable that he was one of the great teachers of Nālandā itself. Of the two authors of the composition Svāmīdatta is described as a *prathita-karanika*, i.e., a celebrated officer in charge of documents. No particulars are given about the joint author, namely, Śilachandra

As to the identity of Nālandā no remarks are needed, for it is too well-known to require any. A few points about this locality, however, seem to be worth mentioning here. The first is its designation which is certainly Nālandā (ending in long vowel, i.e., ā) and not Nālandā (ending in short vowel, i.e., a) as is sometimes erroneously supposed to be.¹ The name ending in the long vowel not only occurs in this and other inscriptions but in literature also, both Buddhist as well as Jaina. I am not aware if the locality figures in Brahmanical literature at all. It goes back to the time of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jina, and of Gautama Buddha, i.e., at least five centuries before the birth of Christ. The Jaina accounts² would show that it was a very prosperous and sacred *bāhulikā* or suburb of Kājagṛha where Mahāvīra spent fourteen *chāturmāsya*s. Early Buddhist literature³ also testifies to its pristine glory. But it looks curious that in neither of them it figures as a university or centre of learning. Possibly it grew as such later, i.e., about the period when the great pilgrim of China, namely, Hiuen Tsiang, came to study there. The description of the *chaityas* or *vihāras*, the *prāsādas* or *dēvālayas*, etc., as given in this interesting document, however, would show that the pilgrim's description of its splendour must have been based on facts.

¹ The name ending in the short vowel, i.e., a, is given in *C I I*, Vol. III, p. 210, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 167, etc., and *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* by M. Walleser (Reprint from *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume, Leipzig, pp. 15, etc.)

² (1) See *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 7th Lecture (Chapter on Nālandā), of the Second Book.

Teṇaṁ kālenaṁ teṇaṁ sāmānaṁ Rāyaghe nāmaṁ nayaro hotthā riddhipphita sammidhe vaṇṇa jāva paḍirūvo tassanaṁ Rāyagheassa nayarassa bahiyā uttara-purattume disibāo etthapaṇa Nālandānāmaṁ bhāṇiṭṭhā potthā apogabbhavaṇṇa yasanivṛtthā jāva paḍirūvā || 1 ||

(2) *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (ed. H. Jacob), Leipzig, 1879, p. 64, para. 122.

Rāyaghaṁ nagaraṁ Nālandam oha bāhulyaṁ

(3) The *Pūvadēśachaitiyaparyāṇi* which was composed by Paṇḍita Haṁsasōmī in V. S. 1565 and has lately been published in the Yaśovijaya Jainagranthamālā, Bhāvanagara (Kathiawad) says :—

Nālandāi pāḍai chauda chaumāsa sunijai
Haudā lokaprasiddha te Baḍagāma kahijai
Solaprasādatihāṭh achichhai Jinabimbanaṁijai.

(4) The *Sammēlakākharaṭṭhamālā* is more explicit. It records :—

Bāhulī Nālando pādo
Sūhavo tassa puṇyapavādo
Vīra chaudarahā chaumāsa
Haudā Baḍagāma nīvāsa

Būhudehare ekaso pratimā navilahi i Bodhavi ganimā

³ References to Buddhist works are several and I have dealt with them in the paper which I read before the All India Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1928. (*Proceedings, Fifth Indian Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 386 ff.) Here I may allude to *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 377

"Taṁ kuḥ maññasi gahapati : Ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phitā oha bahujanā ākanna-manussā ti."
"Evam bhante, ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phitā oha bahujanā ākanna-manussā ti."

As to the name Narddarakā occurring in this record, it might have been an ancient streamlet or a lake at Nālandā

TEXT.¹

- Line 1 चकारस्त्रिव(व)न्यनत्ततमतिर्मन्वाय यो देहिना कारुण्यात्सभं
शरीरमपि यो दत्वा तुतोषार्थिने [1*] सन्दैर्यः स्वशिरःकिरोटमकरो-
वृष्टाङ्गि-
- „ 2 पद्म सुरैस्तस्मै सर्वपदार्थतत्त्वविदुषे वु(वु)क्षाय नित्वं नमः ॥ [१^३ ॥*]
सर्वेषां मूर्ध्नि दत्वा पदमवनिभृतामुह्यतो भूतिधामा निस्त्रिंशंशुप्रतानप्रद-
लितनिखिलारातिघो-
- „ 3 रान्धकारः [1*] स्थातो यो लोकपालः सकलवसुमतोपद्मिनीघो(वो)ध-
हेतुः श्रीमात्मास्त्रानिवोच्चैस्तपति दिशिदिशि श्रीयशोवर्मदेवः ॥ [२^४ ॥*]
तस्यासौ परमप्रसादम-
- „ 4 हितः श्रीमातुदाराशयः पुत्रो मार्गपतिः प्रतोततिकिनोदोचीपतिर्मन्त्रिणः [1*]
मानादो भुवि नन्दनोरिदमनो यो व(व)न्मुमत्यासुधोर्दीनाशापरिपूरणे-
- „ 5 कचतुरो धीरो विशुडान्वयः ॥ [३^३ ॥*] यासावूर्जितवैरिभूषविगलहानाम्बु(स्व)-
पानोन्नमन्माद्यद्भुतकरोन्द्रकुम्भदलनप्राप्तत्रियाम्भुजाम् । नालन्दा ह-
- „ 6 सतीव सर्व्वनगरीः शुभ्राभगौरस्फुरच्चैत्याशुप्रकथैस्सदागमकलाविख्यातविद्व-
ज्जना ॥ [४^३ ॥*] यस्यामम्बु(स्व)धरावलेहिशिखरश्रेणी वि-
- „ 7 हारावली मालेवोर्ध्वविराजिनी विरचिता धात्रा मनोज्ञा भुवः [1*]
जन्मनारत्नमय्खजालखचितप्रासाददेवालयया सहिव्याधरमङ्ग-
- „ 8 रम्यवसतिर्धत्ते सुमेरोः त्रियम् ॥ [५^१ ॥*] अत्रास[ह्य]पराक्रमप्रणयिना जित्वा-
स्त्रिलान्विद्विषो वा(वा)लादित्यसहानृपेण सकलभुक्ता च भूमण्डलम् [1*]
- „ 9 प्रामादः सुमहानयभगवतः शोडोदनैरद्भुतः कैलासाभिभवेच्छयैव धवलो
मन्ये समुत्थापितः ॥ [६^३ ॥*] अपि च ॥ न्यकुर्व्वन्निन्दुकान्तिन्तुहिनगि-
- „ 10 रिशिरःश्रेणिशोभास्त्रिन्यन् शुभ्रामाकाशगङ्गान्तदन्तु मलिनयन्मूकयन्वादि-
सिन्धून् । मन्ये जेतव्यशून्ये भुवन इह दृष्टा भ्रान्तिरित्याक-
- „ 11 लय्य भ्रान्त्वा क्षीणोमशेषाञ्जितविपुलयशस्तम्ब उच्चैस्त्रिंशतो वा ॥ [७^४ ॥*]
अवादायि निवेद्यमान्यदधिमहीपस्तथा भासुरद्यातुर्जातकरेणुभिन्ममल-

¹ From the excellent impressions supplied by Mr J. A. Pogo.

² Symbol for Om or Siddham.

³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

Metre Śardbarā.

- Line 12 न्तोयं सुधाशीतलं । साध्वी चाक्षयनीषिका भगवते वु(वु)हाय शुद्धात्मने
मालादेन यथोक्तवंशयशसा तेनातिभक्त्या स्वयं ॥[८¹॥*] आदिशात्स्नीतशील-
श्रुतधवलधि-
- „ 13 यो भिक्षुसङ्घस्य भूयो दत्तन्तेनैव सम्यग्ब(व)हुष्टतदधिभिर्यज्जनैर्युक्तर्म-
(म)चं । भिक्षुभ्यस्तच्चतुर्भ्यो [व]हुसरभि चतुर्जातकामोदि नित्यं तोयं स[न्ने]
विभक्तं पुनरपि
- „ 14 विमलं भिक्षुसङ्घाय दत्तम् ॥[८²॥*] तेनैवाङ्गुतकर्मणा निजमिह क्रीत्वा-
[र्य]सङ्घान्तिकान्सुक्ता चीवरिकां प्रदाय विधिना सामान्यमेकन्तथा ।
कालम्येरयितुं सुखे-
- „ 15 न लयनन्दत्तं स्वदेशम्विना तेभ्यो नर्हृरिकावधेः परतः शाक्यात्मजेभ्यः
पुनः ॥[१०²॥*] दानं यदेतदमलङ्घुणशालिभिक्षुपूर्णन्दसेनवचनप्रतिवो(वो)-
धितेन । तेन प्रतीत-
- „ 16 यशसा भुवि निर्मलाया भ्रात्रा व्यधायि शरदिन्दुनिभाननायाः ॥[११³॥*]
पिचोर्भ्रातुः कलत्रस्वस्त्युतसुहृदान्तस्य धर्मैकधाप्नो दत्तं दानं यदेतत्सकल-
मतिरसेनायुरा-
- „ 17 रोग्यहेतोः । सर्वेषाञ्चान्धभाजां भवभयजलधेः पारसंतारणार्थं श्रीमत्सम्बो-
(म्बो)धिकल्पद्रुमविपुलफलप्राप्तये चातुमोद्यम् ॥[१२²॥*] चन्द्रो यावच्चकास्ति
स्फुरदुरुकिरणो लो-
- „ 18 कदीपश्च भास्वान् एषा यावच्च धात्रो सजलधिवलया दीपश्च दत्ताव-
काशा । यावच्चैते महान्तो भुवनभरधुरान्धारयन्तो महीध्रास्तावच्चन्द्राव-
दाता धवलयत्तु दिशाम्-
- „ 19 ण्डलं कीर्त्तिरेषा ॥[१३²॥*] यो दानस्यास्य कश्चित्कृतजगदवधेरन्तरायं विद-
ध्यात्माचाह्व्यासनस्थो जिन इह भगवानन्तरस्थः सदास्ते । वा(वा)लादित्येन
राज्ञा प्रदलितरि-
- „ 20 पुणा स्थापितश्चैष शास्ता पञ्चानन्त[र्य]कर्तुर्गतिमतिविषमान्धर्महीनः स
यायात् ॥[१४²॥*] इत्येवं शीलचन्द्रप्रथितकरणिकस्वामिदत्तावलङ्घ्यां संज्ञाज्ञां
मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा श्रुतलव-
- „ 21 विभवावप्यनालोच्य भारं । हृद्यामेतामुदारां त्वरितमङ्कुरुतामप्रपञ्चां
प्रशस्तिं वाञ्छेतां किन्न पंगू शिखरितरुफलावासिमुच्चैः करेण ॥[१५²॥*]

* Metro Sārdhulavikṛīḍam.

* Metro : Saṅghaḥ

* Metro : Vasaṁtatilakū.—The last akṣhara of the first pāda should be treated as gāṁ,

TRANSLATION

(V. 1) C... .. made up his mind to emancipate living beings from... .. delighted after giving (his) the gods including Indra, with the the real nature of all

(V. 2) The Yashovarmmadēva has risen after completely removed the terrific darkness in He is the celebrated protector of the of the earth. He shines after spreading his rays on the of a severe rays the foe in the and cause of the bloom-

(V. 3) Nalanda of the well known Tibbā (i.e., Tīpā) of the Frontier and Ruler of the fulfiller of the desires of the son (literally, gladdener) of Pāṇḍu

(V. 4) after having vanquished all to see the Kaiśa mountain of Śuddhōdāna (i.e.,) (knowledge of the) shining and bright like all the ... of the kings who had surrounded by the shining She had a row of That (row of stars) was, so to say, the which looked resplendent in going upwards on account of the ... work of the rays of the the virtuous Saṅgha of the noble Vidyadhara

And ...

(V. 5) the earth and on firing, as it were, that it was a to be conquered (surpassed), had won, crossing at the lustrous of the of the summits of the Snow mountain (Himālaya), the shade of the white Ganges of the sky, and then turning dumb the

(V. 6) brought with great devotion for the pure water as cool as nectar and mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects, as well as, the shining lamp, the offerings of chari- fied butter and curds

(V. 7) of the community of monks of bright intellect, great piety and learn- ing, he again distributed daily, in a fitting manner, rice with (various) preparations, curds and to the four He again gave to the assembly of monks the pure and highly fragrant water, perfumed with the four objects (scents) and distributed daily at the *śānta*

¹ Does it mean 'monks from the four quarters'?

² See above, p. 39, l. 2

(V 10) He (Mālāda), whose deeds were wondrous, purchased (*everything of*) his own here (*at Nālandā*) from the revered *Sangha* and gave it back (*to the bhikṣus*) according to rites, barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the Śākya, *i e*, Buddhist monks, a common dwelling place (*wherein*) to spend time happily, up to and beyond Narddarikā, excepting a place for himself.¹

(V 11) This stainless gift has been made by him who is the brother of Nirmmalā² whose face resembled the autumnal moon His fame is spread over the world and he has been awakened by the words of the monk Pūrnēndrasēna, who shines by his excellence.

(V 12) All this gift has been given with great devotion for the sake of the welfare and longevity of the parents, brother, wife, sister, son and friends of him (*i e*, Mālāda) who is the sole repository of virtue. May it be approved so that the living beings might cross the fearful ocean of the world and attain the great fruit of the Wishing Tree in the form of the sacred Enlightenment (*Bōdhi*).

(V. 13.) As long as the Moon shines and the Sun, the lamp of the world, with his lustrous and extensive rays (*sheds light*), as long as this earth together with the encompassing ocean endures and the sky, which gives space, lasts, and as long as these great mountains, bearing the yoke of the world, remain, so long let this *kīrti*, which is pure like the Moon, whiten the circle of (*all*) the quarters.

(V. 14) Whoever interferes with this gift, which has to last as long as the world endures, will, void of virtue as he is, have the dire fate of one who commits the five sins—(*let him know*) that the Lord Jina (the Buddha) is here ever present within, occupying the adamant seat and that the great king Bālāditya has established this command (or the image of the Buddha)³

(V 15.) Thus, Śilachandra and the well-known *Karanika* Svāmīdatta, having placed the order of the *Sangha* on their head, without considering the weight (*of responsibility*), composed at once this beautiful and sublime, though simple, *prāśasti*, although the wealth of their knowledge is small, for, will not even the cripples⁴ wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by raising (*their*) hand?

No. 3.—THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF LALGUDI.

By K. V SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B A., M R A S, OOTAOMUND

The three inscriptions which form the subject of this article are incised on the north wall of the Saptarishīvara temple at Lalgudi in the Trichmopoly district For the sake of convenience, I call them A, B and C. Inscription A is dated in the year opposite to the fourth (*i e*, the fifth year) of some king whose name is not given in it It registers a gift of money made by the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar who fought the battle of Teḷḷāru and gained victory in it, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tīruttavatturai in Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu The amount was received by the members of the assembly of Nallimaṇ-galam who bound themselves to bring to the temple and measure out daily (*one*) *nāl* of ghee.

¹ Does all this mean that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and again became a *grihastha* as the Burmese do even now a days?

² See above, page 41

³ See foot note 1 on page 30 above. The construction of this verse is not quite clear. Dr Vogel thinks that the stanza might be referring to two images of the Buddha—the Buddha of the Vajrāsana, being the Bōdhi image enshrined in the principal temple, and second, of the Teacher, perhaps an image of the Buddha shown in the act of teaching, which had been consecrated by Bālāditya.

⁴ The word *paṇḍu* is put in the dual number because the *prāśasti* was composed by two authors.

Inscription B is dated on the day of Śadaryam (Śatabhisha,) corresponding to a Tuesday in the month of Dhanus falling in the ninth year opposite to the fourth (i.e., the thirteenth year) of the reign of king Mārañjadaiyan. In the body of the record the king is called Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguna-Mahārāya. The inscription states that the king gave 120 *lāṣu* to a certain Aṇḍaṭṭu-Vēlān. This amount was finally received by the members of the assembly of Ilamperunkāy-irukkai in Idaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu who bound themselves to supply towards interest the capital remaining intact, one *nāḷi* of ghee daily for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. In case of default the assembly further agreed to pay a fine of 500 *lānam* (of gold). Inscription C is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakesarivarman. It states that the king's uterine sister Nangai-Varaguna-Perumāṇār gave 30 *lālāṟṟu* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple with one *vrī* of ghee daily. The assembly of Manalkāl, a *brahmadēya* of Kalāra-kūṟṟam which was a subdivision of Vadagarai-Maḷa-nāḍu, received the amount given and sold a piece of land in exchange to the temple.

Before taking up the question of the date of these three inscriptions, I may point out straightway that they are written in the same hand and script and must consequently have been inscribed simultaneously. I may here add that there is another inscription in this very temple which is coeval with these records and is, apparently, written by the same hand though it refers itself to the Pallava king Nripatungavarman. It has already been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume IV.¹ Inscriptions of the three kings mentioned in these records are also found in several other places. But they are all written in varying types of the Tamil script not resembling the one in which the three inscriptions under notice are incised. As these kings flourished at different periods, the records belonging to their respective reigns could not have been written in the same hand. Consequently, the Lalgudi inscriptions under examination, written as they are in the same hand, must be treated as later copies of older records made probably at the time when the temple where they are found was renovated or repaired. Palaeographically they can be assigned to the 10th century of the Christian era.

The inscription which I call C purports to belong to a ruler who is the latest among the kings mentioned in these three inscriptions. The princess referred to in it figures as the queen of Parāntaka Ilangoṅvēlār² in another inscription of Rājakesarivarman which was found at Tillaisthānam in the district of Tanjore. She is also mentioned in a somewhat later record belonging to the third year of Parakesarivarman.³ The Tillaisthānam inscription of Rājakesarivarman, unlike the Lalgudi inscription, marks the *pulli* or *tirāma* as do the Takkōlam and other inscriptions of Rājakesarivarman, i.e., Āditya I, and ought to be assigned to the same ruler. Two other epigraphs found at Tiruppalāttur⁴ refer to Teṇṇaṭaṇ Ilangoṅvēlār which is another name for Parāntaka Ilangoṅvēlār. They tell us that he was also called Maṟavaṇ Pūḍiyār. One of them mentions his queen Kaṟṟaḷppirāṭṭiyār also. The name Pūḍiyār given to Ilangoṅvēlār and the mention of his queen would show that he is identical with the Kodumbālūr chief Bhūti-Vikramakēsaṁ who is reported in the Mūvarkōvil inscription to have married Kaṟṟaḷ and Varagunā.⁵ From a Tiruchendur⁶ inscription we learn that he had a daughter named Pūḍi-Ādichchapidāṟṟiyār who was the queen of Arikulakēsaṁ, i.e., Ariṇṇaya⁶ the son of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. I have shown

¹ See plate (VII) opposite to p. 173.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 113.

³ *Ibid.* No. 127.

⁴ Nos. 253 and 273 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04, and para. 90 of part II of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08.

⁵ *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, para. 90 of Part II.

⁶ Nos. 316, 317 and 319 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04.

elsewhere¹ that Āditya I must have ascended the throne in A D. 871. Accordingly, the Lalgudi inscription, which also belongs to him, must be assigned to A D 883-4, for it is dated in the 13th year of his reign

To settle the dates of the inscriptions A and B we have to consider the way in which they are dated. We find that they give some year opposite to the fourth. This mode of dating was adopted by the Pāṇḍya king Mārāṇjaḍaiyan *alias* Varaguna-Mahārāja, as is evidenced by several inscriptions of his reign which have already been brought to light.² Consequently, these two records also should be ascribed to the same ruler

We have now to establish the date of the accession of Tejjārreṇḍa-Nandippōttavarman and of his contemporary Varaguna-Mahārāja I, who was the grandfather of Varagunavarman II and father of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha Parachakrakōlāhala, the conqueror of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that there was a Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon during the reign of Silāmāgha Sēna I (A D 846 to 866), in which the Pāṇḍya king came off completely victorious and took possession of the capital and carried away a large amount of booty, though he eventually restored the Singhalese kingdom to its rightful king. The only early Pāṇḍya king who is known from the Śippa-manūr plates to have invaded and conquered Ceylon is Śrīmāra. From the facts recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* it can be gathered that his reign covered the last 3 years of the rule of Dappula and probably commenced in the year 840 and ended in 862 A D when his eldest son Varagunavarman II succeeded him. Śrīmāra's predecessor, namely, Varaguna-Mahārāja I, must have reigned prior to 840 A D. His latest regnal year so far known from inscriptions is the seventeenth and we can reasonably state that his rule over the Pāṇḍya country may have extended from 823 to 840 A D though it is not impossible that it might have commenced a few years earlier. The date of Varaguna I can approximately be ascertained from the chronology of the Pallava kings from Nandivarman Pallavamalla to Aparājita. The Vēlūrpalāyam plates give us the genealogy of the latter Pallavas for three generations commencing from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.³ They state that Pallavamalla's son was Dantivarman and that the latter's son was Nandivarman III. This information is supplemented by the Bāhūr plates which tell us that Dantivarman's son was Nandivarman III, who had for his queen the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śankhā, and that the latter's son was Nripatunga.⁴ It is to be noted that in these plates no mention is made of Kampavarman and the name Kampavarman was not borne by any one of the above mentioned kings. If Kampavarman was a lineal descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, we might tentatively assume that he was another, and, perhaps, the younger son of Nandivarman III. The name Nandi-Kampēsvara given to the temple at Sōlapuram may have been called after Kampavarman, the son of Nandivarman.⁵ It may be pointed out here that both the palaeographical peculiarities of Kampavarman's epigraphs and the genealogy furnished by the Vēlūrpalāyam as well as the Bāhūr plates do not admit of any place for him before Nripatunga. It will be shown presently that he cannot be made the immediate successor of Nripatunga. Therefore the only inference that could be drawn regarding Kampavarman is that he must have been a joint ruler with either Nripatunga or Aparājita

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIX, pp. 81 ff.

² See *Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, pp 84 ff., and No 13 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, Nos 90 and 137 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, Nos 358 and 364 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08 and No 84 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1909-10

³ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol II, pp 601 ff

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII, pp 5 ff

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p 196. The name Kampavarman, just like Nripatunga, also suggests that he might have been so called after Kambha (Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhārāvārsha Dhruva. In that case Nandivarman might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha)

or with both ¹ Therefore, it is needless to take his reign into consideration to determine the period when the later Pallavas ruled From the Āmbūr inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign of Nripātunga, we learn that the Ganga king Prithvīpati I was a subordinate of that Pallava king ² And since it is recorded in the Udayēndiram plates that this very Ganga king was an ally of the Pallava king Aparājita and fought under his standard and secured victory for him in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguna (II), ³ it might be said that Aparājita ⁴ was the immediate successor of Nripātunga. That he was the last Pallava ruler of Kāñchi is known from the Tiruvālangādu plates which report that the Chōla king Āditya I killed him and took possession of his kingdom ⁵ This event, we have reasons to believe, must have taken place before A.D. 891, for it is stated in an inscription at Tirumālpuram near Conjeeveram that the village of Śrīrāyārūr in Manaiyil-nādu was granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Tondaimān-Ārūr-tuñjina-udaiyār : e, Āditya I ⁶ If we allow at least two years for his settlement in the newly conquered country, it may be said that Āditya I killed Aparājita in about A.D. 888 The latest dates furnished by the stone inscriptions for Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman, Nandivarman, the victor of Tellāru, : e, Nandivarman III, Nripātunga and Aparājita are 65, 52, 22, 26 and 18, respectively With the help of these, supplemented to a certain extent by the light of contemporary history, we shall try to settle the chronology of the later Pallava sovereigns Keeping A.D. 888 as the last year of Aparājita and deducting from it 18, which is the highest regnal year known for him, ⁷ we get A.D. 870 for his accession This date must, therefore, be the year when his predecessor Nripātunga ceased to rule Since the latest regnal year so far found for him is 26, ⁸ we get A.D. 844 for his accession It may be noted here that the initial year of Nripātunga's reign cannot be earlier than this date because in a record of his 18th year the Pāndya king Varaguna-Mahārāja (II) figures as donor ⁹ and we know for certain that that king's accession took place in A.D. 862 ¹⁰ We have to take A.D. 844 as the last year of Nripātunga's father Nandivarman III, the victor of Tellāru The latest regnal year found for him in the inscriptions mentioning the victory of Tellāru is 22 ¹¹ But there is a possibility of his having reigned longer ¹² If he had a reign of 22 years, his accession would have to be placed in A.D. 822. This cannot be the case for, we learn from the Western-Ganga grants that the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II Saigotta ¹³ The last year of Gōvinda

¹ In a Tamil inscription of Uttaramallūr of the time of Kampavarman dated in his 15th year whose text (No. 325) is published in the *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, the donor is Śeyya-Aparājita, and he is called Perumānadigaḷ-ādyañ

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384.

⁴ It is learnt from No. 350 of Vol. VI of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, that Aparājita bore the title Rājāmārttāpā.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49 This statement is confirmed by a stone inscription found at Tillasthānam which styles Āditya I as "Rājakesarivarman who extended his territory into Tonḍai nādu" (*Ibid.*, p. 221, No. 89)

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, Part II, paras. 29 and 30.

⁷ No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182

⁹ No. 360 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

¹⁰ No. 705 of the same collection for 1905

¹¹ No. 180 of the same collection for 1907.

¹² In the numerous epigraphs dated simply in the reign of Nandivarman without the distinguishing epithets 'Pallavamalla' or 'Tellārreṇḍa' there must be some belonging to Nandivarman III, while the others may be of Pallavamalla.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 158 and 161.

IN being A D 814¹ this event should have occurred before that date, say about A.D 812. Accordingly, we have to take back the year of accession of Nandivarman III by ten years. Looking at the fact that Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman had unusually long reigns, extending to 65 and 51 years,² it seems improbable that Nandivarman III, who succeeded Dantivarman, could have ruled long and, since the last year of his reign cannot be taken earlier than A D. 844, it will be safe to assume that his rule lasted from A D 812 to 814. Deducting 51 from 812 and 65 from the balance we get the initial dates of Dantivarman and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Their reigns should, therefore, have extended from A D 761 to 812 and A D. 696 to 761 The chronology as worked out from these facts and others noted later on is shown below —

| Pāṇḍya kings | Pallava kings | Rāshtrakūṭas | Western Gāṅgas | Chōlas |
|---------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| Māṇavarman | Nandivarman II
Pallavamalla | | | |
| Neṇṇūjadaiyan | | | | |
| Rājasaṃha | Dantivarman | Gōvinda III | Sivamāra II | |
| Varaguṇa I | Nandivarman III | | | |
| Śrīmāra | Nripatuṅga | Amoghavarsha I | Prithvipati I | |
| Varaguṇa II | Aparājita | | | |
| | | | | Āditya I |

Since Nandivarman, the victor of Tellūr, figures as donor in the Lalgudi inscription A dated in the 5th year, evidently of the reign of Māṇūjadaiyan alias Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, that record cannot be placed earlier than A D. 812 or later than A.D 844 which are the initial and closing years of Nandivarman III. From this, it is clear that the date of accession of Varaguṇa I cannot be taken to an earlier date than A D. 807. We have already shown that it cannot be later than A.D 823 In order to arrive at the actual year of accession of Varaguṇa I, the astronomical details furnished in two inscriptions, which are both dated in 4+9th (i.e., the 13th) year of Māṇūjadaiyan (i.e., Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I), may be considered here One of them is the inscription B edited below and the other is from Tiruvejḷarai.³ While the former gives the astronomical combination (a) Dhanus, Tuesday and the nakṣatra Śatabhishaj, the latter furnishes another set of combinations, viz., (b) Vṛśchika, Monday and the the nakṣatra Āśvinī in the same year, i.e., 13th. Between A D. 800 and 852, though there are several years in which each set of combinations occurred separately, the following table gives such of those years only as con-

¹Ibid, Vol III, p 54

²No 666 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1922 and No 262 of the same collection for 1924

³The details of date furnished in this record have been calculated by the late Mr R Sewell for Varaguṇa II in *Ep Ind*, Vol. XI, p 253. But as it is dated in the 9th year opposite to the fourth it is clearly a record of Varaguṇa I.

tained both sets of details, the days corresponding to the combinations (a) and (b), the initial and fifth years of the king —

| No | Year | Equivalents of (a) and (b) | Initial year | 5th year |
|----|------|---|--------------|----------|
| 1 | 814 | (a) Tuesday, 19th Dec
(b) Monday, 30th Novr | 801 A.D . | 803 A.D |
| 2 | 817 | (a) Tuesday, 15th Dec
(b) Monday, 26th Octr | 804 . . | 809 |
| 3 | 824 | (a) Tuesday, 29th Novr
(b) Monday, 7th Novr f.d.n. 71 | 811 . . | 816 |
| 4 | 831 | (a) Tuesday, 12th Dec f.d.n. 38
(b) Monday, 20th Novr f.d.n. 01 | 818 . . | 823 |
| 5 | 834 | (a) Tuesday, 8th Dec f.d.n. 56
(b) Monday, 16th Novr f.d.n. 70 | 821 . . | 826 |
| 6 | 841 | (a) Tuesday, 22nd Novr f.d.n. 23
(b) Monday, 31st Octr f.d.n. 94 | 828 . | 833 |
| 7 | 851 | (a) Tuesday, 1st Dec
(b) Monday, 9th Novr | 838 . | 843 |

Since the first two give the fifth year equivalents A D 806 and 809 they have to be rejected for the reason that Tellārreṇḍa Nandivarman cannot figure in them. Similarly, Nos 6 and 7 have to be abandoned because, according to them, the 17th year would work out to be A D 845 and 855, both of which are later than the lower limit fixed for Varaguna I. The only three that could be adopted are Nos 3, 4 and 5 which would give us, for the king's succession, the years A D 811, 818 and 821. Even out of these, Nos 4 and 5 may be given up as their adoption would narrow the possible longer range of reigns of both Varaguna I and Śrīmāra. It seems that the only probable date for Varaguna's accession is A D 811. This conclusion is not entirely without grounds. The internal evidence furnished in the Āṇamalai inscription, Madras Museum Plates and the Vēlvikudi grant shows that A D 770 must fall somewhere between the 3rd and 17th years of the reign of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan to whose time they all belong¹. After Parāntaka and before Varaguna I, only a single king intervened, i.e., Rājasimha and his reign, as at present known, was an eventless one. Therefore, the period of forty-one years from A D 770 to A D 811 is more than sufficient to cover the rest of the reign of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyan from the time of the Āṇamalai record and the eventless rule of Rājasimha. For these reasons, therefore, adopting A D 811 as the date of accession of Varaguna I, we may assign A D 816 to inscription A and A.D 824 to B.

Of the places mentioned in these inscriptions, many can be easily identified. Tiruttavatturai² must be Lalgudi itself because, the inscriptions are found there. Manakkāl³ is the homonymous village in the Trichinopoly district and Eḍayattumangalam, not far from Lalgudi, might have been the principal place in Idaiyāṟu-nāḍu in which Tiruttavatturai is said to have been situated. I am not able to trace Nallimangalam and Ilamperungāy-irukkai. Tellāru, where Nandivarman gained a victory, is in the Wandiwash taluq of the North Arcot district.

¹ See *Ind Ant.*, Vol XXII, pp 57 ff, *Ep Ind.*, Vol XVII, pp 291 ff, and *Ep Ind.*, Vol VIII, pp 317 ff.

² There is also a village, called Tiruttavatturakkattalai in the Trichinopoly District.

³ A village of this name is in Udayārpālayam taluq, but this cannot be the one referred to in these inscriptions.

TEXT OF A.

- 1 Svasti śrī [[*] Yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edirām-āṇḍu Idaiyāṇṇu-nāṭtu-tTiruttavatturai-Māhādēvark ku¹ Te||ēṇṇ-ēṇṇduveṇa Nandippōtta[r]ai-
- 2 yar kuḍutta pa|an-kāsu 60 du [[*] ivv-aṇupadu kāsum i-nṇāṭṭu Nallimangalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-aṇupadu kāsum(m) Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvar-
- 3 iḍai kondu nārāya-nā|iyāl nīśadi nā| ney oru nondā-vi|akku śandir-ādittaval irav[um] pagalum eriya-kkonḍu-śeṇṇu a|appōmā[nō]-
- 4 m[[*] Nallimangalattu sabhaiyōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahē(hā)dēvarkku a|avōmāyil muttal mutt-irattiyum mūlappatta paṇ-mahēśvara[rē]
- 5 sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum nīlakkalam-u||itṭa tāṇ vēṇḍu kōvīṇukku pukka
 ॐ² iru-pūṇṇu-ppadipn-āṇṇu kāṇam dandam-iḍa [v]e-
- 6 ṭṭinōm Nallimangalattu sabhaiyōm [[*] idu paṇ-māhēśvarar nāṇppatt-aṇṇāyiravarum
 ī(i)rakṣai ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail ' Prosperity ' In the year opposite to 4, Nandippōttaraiyar, who fought the battle of Tellāṇṇu and gained victory (in it), gave 60 old *kāsu* to (the temple of) Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Idaiyāṇṇu-nāḍu. Having received from the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai these sixty *kāsu*,³ we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimangalam in this *nāḍu*, bound ourselves to take (to the temple) and measure out daily (one) *nā|* of ghee by the measure called *nārāya-nā|*, for burning one perpetual lamp as long as the sun and moon last. If we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimangalam, fail (in our undertaking) and do not measure out (the ghee) to the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai, all the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine⁴ shall levy on (us, the members of) the assembly, as a body or individually, a fine of two hundred and sixteen *lānam* and this shall be paid to the royal officers⁵ inclusive of the *nīlakkalam*⁶ whichever they desire. Thus we, (the members of) the assembly of Nallimangalam, had this (edict) incised. This (charity) shall be under the protection of all the Forty-Eight Thousand Māhēśvaras.

TEXT OF B.

- 1 Svasti śrī [[*] Kō-Māṇṇajadayarkku yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edir 9-ām-āṇḍu Dhanu-nāyīṇṇu Śevvā[y*]-kka|amai peṇṇa Śadaiya(m)ttu [nā| I]-
- 2 idaiyāṇṇu-nāṭtu Tiruttavatturai-Māhādēvarkku¹ iravum pagalum śandir-ādittaval irāṇḍu no[nḍā-tturu-vi|akku]
- 3 erippadāga kō-Māṇṇajadayāna(ā)yina Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguna-Māhārāyar² Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēlān [k]aiy[il-kkudutta pa|]a[n]-

¹ - Read *Mahādēvarkku*

² The symbols can be read as *vū|a* (mistake for *vū|a*) which with the preceding *pukka* becomes *pukkar-u|a*.

³ The words ' *ivv aṇupadu |āsum* ' are repeated twice in the record

⁴ The words ' *mūlappaṭṭa paṇmāhēśvara* ' here used stand in the place of ' *mūlappaṭṭuḍai paṇṇ-āchārya dēvakam* ' occurring in other inscriptions. The body meant by the term appears to have been constituted into an assembly for managing the affairs of the temple and was called ' *uṇṇāḷḡai vāriya* ' or ' *uṇṇāḷḡai-sabhai* '.

⁵ ' *Kō* ' literally means ' a ling '

⁶ *Nīl*=stationary and *ka|am*=field or body. As such, the expression may mean ' a standing committee '.

⁷ Read *Mahārāyar*.

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- 4 kāsū 120 [*]nūṛ-irupadu kāsūn(m) muda[l] ke[ḍā]m[a]y poli[y-ū]ttināl nīśadi
nā¹
- 5 aḷappōm-āyīnōm ippadi ot[ṭ]i i-kkāsū koṇḍō[m] Idaiyāṛru-nāttu Iṇamperunkāy-
iruk[k]ai [sabhaiyō]-
- 6 m [*] i-nēy nīśadi iṛu-nāḷiyum muttal mutt-irattiyum mūlap[pa]tta pan-
māhēśvararē sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum nī²
- 7 Iṭṭa tāṇ vēṇḍu kōṇṇukku pukka ५, 7³ aṇṇūru kāṇam daṇḍam=iḍa otti-
kkuduttōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvarkku [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ' Prosperity ' In the 9th year opposite to the 4th year of (*the reign of*) king Māraṇḍaḍayan corresponding to the day of Śadayam, i.e., Śatabhishaj (*falling*) on a Tuesday in the month of Dhanus, king Māraṇḍaḍayan *ahas* Pāndyakulapati Varaguna-Mahārāya gave into the hands of Anda-nāttu-Vēḷān 120 old *lāśu* for burning day and night, till the sun and the moon last, two perpetual lamps in the temple of the Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Idaiyāṛru-nādu. As interest on these one hundred and twenty *lāśu*—the capital remaining un-affected—we bound ourselves to measure out daily [two *nāḷi* of ghee by the *nārāya-nāḷi* measure] Thus agreeing, we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Iṇamperunkāy-irukkai in Idaiyāṛru-nādu, received these *lāśu*. If (*any*) default occurs in (*giving*) these two *nāḷi* of ghee daily, we agreed on behalf of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai to pay, either in a body or individually, double the (*quantity of*) default and a fine of five hundred *lānam* (*of gold*) to the royal (*officers*) inclusive of [*nīlakkalam*] as the Mahēśvaras attached to the central shrine desire.

TEXT OF C.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō-Rājakēsaripanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu 13 āvadu Idaiyāṛru-
nāttu-tTiruttavatturai I.
- 2 śvara-batṭāra[ka]rkkku Śōlapperumān-aḍigaḷ tiru-udappiṇḍār Nangai-
Varaguna-perumānār śandır-ā-
- 3 dittavaṛ iravum pagalum cru nondā-vilakku nīśadi uziy ne[y]yāl⁴ erivadaṅk-
ku kudutta po[n]
- 4 30 muppaḍiṇ kaḷaṇḍu poṇṇum Vadakarai-Maḷa-nāttu Kalāra-kku(kū)ṛrattu
mēl-kūṛru pirama-
- 5 dēyam Maṇalkāl sabhaiyōm kondu i-ppon 30 kaḷaṇḍu-kondu Tiru[ṭ]ta]-
vatturai Perumān-aḍigaḷukku tiruvilakkukku viṛru-kkudutta nīlammāvadū⁵ Mē[r]-
- 6 ppulattu Maṇamutti-ttāḍalin-kīḷai engaḷ nāṇḍu-mā-kkāṇiyum pōyum viṛkkū[ra]
7 nīlattukku ellai Śīrugavūr vettappēṛṇ vaḍavāy mūṇṇu mā-kkāṇiyum pō-
[yu]-
- 9 m viṛkkūra nīlattukku ellai Śīrugavūr ellai va[y*]kkāḷi-kkīḷai⁶ irāṇḍu-
māvum
- 10 pōyum viṛkkūra nīlattuk-ellai nāṇḍalē Talaivāyaṇukku kudutta ve-
- 11 tṭa[p]pēṛṇ-kīḷai arai-māvum āga-ttaḍi nāṇḍiṇāl nīlam araiyum u-
- 12 nīlam oḷivāṇ i-ppon 30 [ka*]ḷaṇḍu-konḍu i-ūḷam pattu=chcheyum iraiy-
ilyāga viṛru vilaiy-āvaṇ-cheyidu⁷ ś~

¹ Thus gap may be filled up with the words " rāya nāḷiyāl iṛu-nāḷi nēy "

² The letters *laikkalam-u* are damaged.

³ The first *y* in *neyyāl* is corrected from *g*.

⁴ Read "kīḷai".

⁵ See note 2 on p. 52.

⁶ Read *nīlammāvadū*.

⁷ Read "cheydu".

- 13 nnir vetti utpada maṣṣum eppērppaṭṭa veṭṭiyum iṣaiyum echchōṟum vedi-
naiyum eppērppattadum-iṣādādāga viṟṟu vi-
14 laiy-āvanañ-che[y*]du kuḍuttōm Tiruttavattuṟai-Mahādēvarkku Maṇaṟkāl sabhai-
yōm i-ñilattukku pugunda
15 kuttukkāl tirttu-kuduppōmānōm tirttu-[kkuḍōmāḡil ku]ttukkāl pugunda(pugunda)-
pōdu muṟpatta panm[ā]-
16 hēśvararē nīlakkālam-u[ḷ]tta tān [vēṇḍu] kō[vīnu]kku -kkānam
sabhaiyay āgavum tanitt-āgavum daṇ
17 ḍam-ida oṭṭi i-ñilam pattu-checheyum viṟṟu vilaiy-āvanam śeydu kuḍuttōm
Tiruttavattuṟai-[Ma]hādēvarkku Maṇa-
18 ṟkāl sabhaiyōm [||*] idu pan-Māhēśvarar nāṟppatt-enṇāyiravarum rakshai |||| ||| ||||

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 13th year of (the reign of) king Rājakēśarivarman, Nangai-Varaṇa-perumāṇār, the illustrious uterine sister of the Chōla king (Śōlapperumān-adigaḷ), gave 30 (*kalaṇṇu* of) gold for burning a perpetual lamp daily with (one) *uri* of ghee as long as the sun and the moon last, in the temple of Īśvara-bhaṭṭāraka at Tiruttavattuṟai. The (members of the) assembly of Maṇaṟkāl, a *brahmadēya* on the western portion of Kalāra-kku(kū)ṟṟam which was a sub-division of Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nādu received these thirty *kalaṇṇu* of gold. The following are the lands which they sold for the 30 *kalaṇṇu* of gold to the temple of Perumānadigaḷ at Tiruttavattuṟai for (burning) a sacred lamp —

Four *mā* and (one) *kāni* of our land, situated to the east of the mound called Maṇamutṭa-ttādal, three *mā* and (one) *kāni* (of land) to the north of the *veṭṭappīru* in Śīrugavūr, two *mā* of land to the east of the canal at the boundary of Śīrugavūr, and half a *mā* (of land) to the east of the *veṭṭoppīru* which we ourselves presented to Talaivāyaṇ¹—in all, half a *vēḷi* comprised in four *tadai*. Having received the 30 *kalaṇṇu* of gold, we, (the members of) Maṇaṟkāl, sold these ten *śey* of land, free from taxes, and drew up the sale deed expressing therein that all kinds of *veṭṭi*, *iṟai echchōṟu*, *vedimai* and other (taxes) inclusive of *sennīrveṭṭi*, shall not be paid (on these lands), and conveyed the same to (the temple of) the Mahādēva at Tiruttavattuṟai. If there arises any trouble in respect of these lands, we bind ourselves to rectify the same. In case of our failure to rectify, we agree to pay, either as a body or individually, a fine of *kānam* of gold to the royal officers inclusive of the *nīlakkālam* as may be desired by the several Māhēśvaras existing at the time of default. Thus (agreeing), we, (the members of) the assembly of Mānaṟkāl, sold the said ten *śey* of land, drew up the sale-deed and handed over (possession) to (the temple of) the Mahādēva at Tiruttavattuṟai. This (charity) shall be under the protection of all the Māhēśvaras (viz.), the Forty-Eight Thousand.

No. 4 —A SUNGA INSCRIPTION FROM AYODHYA

By RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A.

This inscription was first brought to the notice of scholars by Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakara of Ayōdhyā. It is inscribed on a flat stone slab at the foot of the eastern entrance of the *Samādhi* of Bābā Sangat Bakhsh, which is reputed to have been built in the time of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daula. This shrine with the connected buildings is situated in the western portion of a large walled enclosure known as Rānopāli, about a mile distant from the town of Ayōdhyā on the road leading to Fyzābād.

¹ May also mean 'for the head-shrvice'.

The inscription consists of two lines. The first line appears to be complete, though it is difficult to say that the portion of the slab hidden under the sill of the doorframe does not contain one or more lines. Of the second line, the left hand portion is completely effaced, though some slight traces that have survived make it certain that the whole of this portion was originally inscribed. The characters are Brāhmī which show considerable resemblance with the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and some archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā. The characteristics of this type are discussed in Buhler's *Indian Palaeography*¹ and these are the equalization of all the upper verticals except in *la*, the constant use of the *serif* and of the angular forms of *gha*, *ja*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *la*, *sha* and *ha*. Another peculiarity of the Brāhmī script of this period is the slightly bent base line of the letter *na*. The inscription under discussion exhibits all these peculiarities in a marked degree and should be classed with those mentioned above. The document is written in correct Sanskrit and is thus one of the few early inscriptions recorded in that language. The only grammatical mistake noticed in it is the use of *Dharmarājñā* in place of *Dharmarājēna*.

The document has already been dealt with by several scholars, the first of whom was the discoverer, Babu Jagannath Das Ratnākara² himself. This article is written in Hindī and is accompanied by an inked impression of the inscription together with an improved hand-copy prepared by Mr Ratnākara himself. Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of the Rāyputāna Museum, Ajmēr, dealt with the document in the same volume of the *Nāgarī-Prachārīnī Patrikā*,³ as well as in his report of that Museum for the year ending 31st March 1924, pp 1-2. Mr K. P. Jayaswal has devoted three articles to the subject⁴. Other scholars, who have dealt with this inscription, are Mr N. K. Bhattasali,⁵ Dr A. Bannerji-Sāstri⁶ and Mr. N. G. Majumdar.⁷ The inscription has, however, not yet been dealt with in any of the official publications of the Archaeological Department and my object in editing it in this journal is to bring together the various views expressed by scholars on this important inscription and to record my own impressions of the same.

The inscription records the erection of a shrine or other memorial in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of the Dharmarāja . . . Dhana (°dēva, °bhūti, etc.), Lord of Kōsala, son of Kauśiki, the sixth of the *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, who had performed the *Āśvamedha* twice.

The inscription is important for more reasons than one. It is the first inscription on stone or metal yet discovered which mentions the name of Pushyamitra, the celebrated founder of the Śunga dynasty. Hitherto he was only known from literary sources, e.g., the *Divyāvadāna* (XXIX), Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (III-2-123), where reference is made to a sacrifice performed by him, some of the *Purāṇas*, Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, etc. The passages referring to the Śunga dynasty in the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* are quoted in parallel columns in Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp 30-33. From the extract from the former we learn that the dynasty was founded by the General Pushyamitra after he had slain the last Maurya king Brihadratha. His son was Agnimitra, who was succeeded by Vasujyēshtha. The latter's son was Vasumitra and his son Andhraka. He was succeeded by Pulindaka and the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, Appendix, p 40.

² *Nāgarī Prachārīnī-Patrikā*, Vol. V, pt. 1, pp 99-104.

³ *Ibid.*, pp 201, seq.

⁴ *Modern Review*, October 1924, pp 430-32, *J. B. & O. R. S.*, 1924, Vol. X, pp 202-208, and *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp 247-49. [Here Mr Jayaswal has given good facsimiles of this inscription.—Ed.]

⁵ *Modern Review*, February 1925, p 202.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1925, pp 59-60.

⁷ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. VII, pts. I and II, pp 160-163.

latter by Yōmāgha. He was followed by Vajramitra. He was followed by Samābhāga. The latter's son was Dēvabhūmi.

Kālidāsa's drama mentions three of these kings, i.e., the founder, his son Agnimitra and the latter's son Vasumitra and further informs us that Pushyamitra instituted a *Rājasūya* sacrifice and appointed Vasumitra as the guardian of the sacrificial horse, which in accordance with religious custom was to wander at will for a year and that the horse was seized by the cavalry of the Yavanas, whom Vasumitra successfully defeated and brought the horse back to his grandfather's sacrifice. The *Rājasūya* sacrifice was performed by universal monarchs and the sacrifice of this name mentioned in the drama of Kālidāsa may have been the one performed by Pushyamitra on the occasion of his coronation. The Ayōdhyā inscription, however, records the performance of two *Āsvamedha* sacrifices by Pushyamitra. It is at present not known what necessitated the institution of the second sacrifice by him. It is to the credit of Pushyamitra that he revived this sacrifice which had long been in abeyance owing to Aśoka's commandments prohibiting the immolation of animals even for sacrifices. Mr. Jayaswal¹ thinks that the *Āsvamedha* sacrifice mentioned in an inscription discovered at Nagari² also referred to Pushyamitra. It is true that such an inscription was found by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar when he was engaged in his excavations at Nagari³. It has, however, been found by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha⁴ to be only a fragment of the Ghōsūndī inscription and to supply the missing portion of the first line of that record. Thus restored, the epigraph shows that the son of Gajayana and Pārāsari mentioned in it was one Sarvatāta, who had performed a horse-sacrifice, but makes no mention of Pushyamitra.

The Ayōdhyā inscription is also interesting as it establishes the fact that the correct name of the founder of the Śunga dynasty was Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra as found in some of the Sanskrit works. Dr. Bühler had already been led to this conclusion⁵ by the form Pūsamitra which he found in certain Jaina Prakrit *gāthās*, but epigraphical evidence was wanting.

The interpretation of this short record is rendered difficult by the uncertainty about the exact significance of the words *Pushyamitrasya shashthēna* and I am afraid the difficulty will not be solved until another inscription of the Śunga dynasty containing the genealogy of these kings comes to light. I propose here to recapitulate what has been said by the previous writers before I record my views on the point. Pandit Ratnakara rendered these words as the sixth descendant, brother or son of Pushyamitra and as with the last alternative, Phalgudēva would become identical with Pushyamitra, he thought he could overcome the difficulty by supplying a word like *pūjyasya* between the words *putuh* and *Phalgudēvasya* and interpret the expression as "in honour of Phalgudēva, a teacher or deity of his father." Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha favoured the meaning "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra," while Mr. Jayaswal preferred to interpret the expression as the sixth brother of Pushyamitra, making Phalgudēva the father of Pushyamitra. This view was endorsed by Dr. A. Banerji-Sāstri, who rejected "the descent theory" for the reason that if Dhana[dēva] was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and evidently proud of it, his name would have ended with the word *mitra*. This, as Mr. N. K. Bhattasali⁶ has shown, is no real obstacle as the names of several of the kings of the Śunga dynasty as given in the *Purāṇas* and found on their coins have different endings. Dr. Sāstri also emphasises the fact that in the *Smṛitis* 'descent' is signified by the termination of the 5th case, not the 6th as

¹ *Modern Review*, October 1924, p. 432

² *The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari* (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 4) p. 120

³ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1926-27, p. 204

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362

⁵ *Modern Review*, January to June 1925, p. 202.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362

is the case in the expression under discussion Mr N G Majumdar has hunted up a parallel expression in verse 88 of the 16th *Sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa*. The expression in question is *pañchamam Takshakasya*, which is interpreted by three commentators as meaning "grandson of grandson of Takshaka". Mr Majumdar therefore sees no difficulty in interpreting *Pushyamitrasya śaśh-ṭhah* as "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra". In his third article¹ on this inscription, however, Mr Jayaswal points out that the example from the *Raghuvamśa* referred to above is actually interpreted by Mallinātha as meaning the fifth son of Takshaka. 'The sixth of Pushyamitra' in the Ayōdhyā inscription should therefore mean the sixth son of Pushyamitra. As, however, this interpretation would make Phalgudēva identical with Pushyamitra, he proposes to read *Dharmarājñā* in the 2nd line as *Dharmarājñī*, and to compound it with the following word *putuh*. He thus construes the record as meaning that Dhanadēva, the sixth son of Pushyamitra, erected a house in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of his lawful queen.

It will be seen from the above that the only parallel expression found by the ingenuity of Mr. Majumdar is capable of two divergent interpretations. As has been pointed out by Dr Banerji-Śāstrī, the inscriptions so far known fail to throw light on the question and he is right in stating that the established custom in epigraphical records is either to name the generations in succession or not at all and that it is not usual to mention a distant stage by omitting the intervening ones. One such example I have indeed secured in verse 44 of the *Vamśāvalī* of the Chambā rājās,² where we find the words "Mēruvarman was the 10th from Jayastambha" after the nine intervening ancestors of Mēruvarman have been duly referred to in direct succession. Even here, however, the *vibhakti* employed is the fifth, not the sixth or possessive case. An example of this kind with the sixth case ending occurs in the *Raghuvamśa*, *Sarga* 6, verse 29 —

त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीय

"Thou alone, fortunate lady, art fit to be their third"

Sunandā, the attendant of Indumatī, while narrating the achievements of the prince of the Angas observes that the goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, though naturally hostile to each other, together reside in him in peace, thus indicating the propriety of her union with him. It will be observed that though the grammatical construction in this case is the same as in the doubtful expression being discussed, the sense of descent is out of the question. Whether more exact parallels both in form and sense will or will not be found in the vast field of Sanskrit literature, I am unable to say. It seems, however, exceedingly difficult to disregard clear palaeographic evidence and to group this record with the other known documents of the early Śunga period. I would, therefore, with Pandit Ratnakara, supply a word like *purushēna* after *śaśhṭhēna* and translate "by the sixth descendant of Pushyamitra". It will be seen from the facsimile that only the first portion of the name of the chief who had this inscription engraved is preserved. Previous writers have restored it as Dhanadēva and Mr N G. Majumdar identifies him with a chief of that name whose coins have been found round about Ayōdhyā. Be the name, however, what it may, the inscription has established beyond doubt the fact that Ayōdhyā formed part of the Śunga Empire as late as the date of the inscription, which, on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to about the 1st century A D.

TEXT.

Line 1. *Kōsal-ādhipēna dvir-aśvamēdha-yājīnah sēnāpatēh Pushyamitrasya śaśhṭhēna*
Kauśikī-putrēna Dhana

Line 2 *Dharmarājñā putuh Phalgudēvasya lējanam kārītam*

¹ J B A. O. R. S., Vol XIII pp 247-49

² Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p 85 —

[The chief point of interest in the inscription is the use of the genitive case in the expression *Pushyamitrasya shashīhēna* According to Pāṇini (तस्य पूरणे ङ्, नाम्नादसंख्यादेर्मट् and षट्कृतिकतिपर्यचतुरां युक्ते, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48, 49 and 51), the suffix *ṇaṭ* (with the augments *maṭ* and *thuk*) is used in the sense of *pūṛaṇa*, i.e., येन संख्या संख्यानं पूर्यते सपद्यते स तस्याः पूरणः (*Kāśikā* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48), 'that with which a number is completed'. So षष्ठः means षण्यां पूरणः and पञ्चमः, पञ्चानां पूरणः, and so on. In other words, this suffix does not signify any order of descent or kinship and षष्ठेन of the inscription, taken by itself, would simply mean 'by the sixth.' The genitive case, however, would show the *sambandha* or relationship which this person had with Pushyamitra, for that is one of the chief functions of this *vibhakti*. To express 'order of descent' the ablative case should be employed, as a reference to the comments on अन्यारादितरर्ते दिक्शब्दाश्चूत्तरपदाज्जिह्वुक्ते (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II. iii. 29) would show. We generally say अयमस्मात् पूर्वः, अयमस्मादुत्तरः. This will be made clearer by the following quotation given in the *Sabdakalpadrūma* under the word *supiṇḍa*.—

“पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातुतः पितुतः क्रमात् ।

सपिण्डता निवर्त्तितं सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥” इत्युद्वाहृतचष्टनारदवचनम् ॥

That *pañchamī* and not *shashīhī* is generally used in such cases is further shown by the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (*Aṃśa* III, *Adhyāya* X) and the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* LXV) as quoted in the *Sabdakalpadrūma* under the word *ivāha*.

“पञ्चमीं मातृपञ्चाच्च पितृपञ्चाच्च सप्तमीं” and

“पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातुतः पितुतस्तथा”

The *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, *Āchār-ādhyāya*, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) would also support the said statement for it says—

परोणिषीं ज्ञातुमतीमसमानविर्गोत्रजाम् ।

पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातुतः पितुतस्तथा ॥ ५२॥

Therefore, if it was the order of descent which the author of the inscription had in view, he would have said *puṣyamitra* and not *puṣyamitra*. Consequently, it becomes evident that if any word is to be supplied, it should be *सुत्रेण* and not *पुरुषेण*. In consideration of these points, Mallinātha seems to be quite correct in taking *पञ्चमं तच्चकस्य* (*Raghu*, XVI, 88) in the sense of 'the fifth son of Takshaka.' To get the meaning attributed to this passage by Chāṇtravardhana or by Dīnākara, we should expect the ablative case or the form *तच्चकात्* instead. We say *तस्य* but not *तस्मात्* पुत्र, यौतः, प्रपौतो वा. Here, we should remember that the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives the reading *Pushyamitra-sūtās=ch=āshlau* which strongly supports the interpretation of *षष्ठेन* as 'by the sixth son'. Besides, there is no inherent impossibility in the version given in this *Purāṇa* which would necessitate a summary rejection of it. Nor does it imply a sense which is wrong or impossible. Accordingly, the meaning 'by the sixth son of Pushyamitra' seems to be preferable.

As to the two new references given in this article one (त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया) has no bearing whatsoever on the point under consideration. The other, which is a quotation from the *Vamśāvalī* of the rulers of Chambā, would only support the *prati-paksha* or the opposite view in that it uses *pañchamī* and not *shashīhī* to express the order of descent of Mēruvarman.—Ed.]

No 5—PAHARPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE [GUPTA] YEAR 159.

By K N DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA

This copper-plate was found by me during the excavation of the great temple at Pāhār-pur in the Badalgachi Thana of the Rājshāhi District in Bengal on the 29th November, 1927. It was recovered from the debris that had accumulated on the north-east side of the circumambulatory passage on the second terrace. From the circumstances of the discovery it was apparent that it could not have been originally buried or deposited under the floor of the passage, but was probably brought down from a higher level along with the bricks and mud. It is to be regretted that owing to the inadvertence of the labourer a hole has been made in the upper right hand corner of it and some letters in the three lines at the end of the first side and the first few lines of the second side have become obscure. The left hand margin has also been damaged at places, owing to which circumstance some of the letters written there have disappeared. The plate when dug out was covered with a thick coating of rust and verdigris but has subsequently been cleaned by chemical treatment and proves to have been fairly well preserved. It is rectangular¹ in shape, measures $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and weighs 29 *tōlās*.

The characters in which the inscription under notice is written belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the grants 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur² copper-plates of the time of Budhagupta. The formation of the medial *ā* by the addition of a stroke at the right lower end of the letters *ga*, *na*, *dha*, *ba*, *ra* and *sa* may be noted. The terminal *m* is written slightly below the top line as will be seen in *-ādḥikaranam* (l 1), *°chatushtayam* (l 8), *Sam* (l 20), and *phalam* (l 24). The rare letter *ḍha* occurs in *ādharāpa* (l 15). The forms of the conjunct letters *lsha* (as in *Dalshinā*³ l 1), *hma* (as in *Brāhma*⁴ ll 3, 12 and 17) and *ñichchhya* (as in *apaviñichchhya* l 20) are noteworthy. The numerical signs for 100, 50, 9, 7, 4 and 1 are to be found in ll 19 to 21. The unusual form of 9 in l 20, seems to be the prototype of the modern Bengali sign for that digit.

As regards orthography, the doubling of *l* before *ya* in *°dinārilkyā*⁵ (ll 4 and 11), and before *r* in *°vīlrayō*⁶ (ll 5 and 12), and *°kḥramēn=ā*⁷ (ll 5 and 17) requires notice. The consonants *l*, *n*, *d*, *m* and *y* are doubled after *r*, as in *°ārlla*⁸ (l 20), *°anuvarnny=ā*⁹ (l 3), *°nirddāḥṭi*¹⁰ (l 18), *°sarmmā* (ll 4 and 12), *°sarmmata* (l 17), *°āryya*¹¹ (l 1), *°bhāryyā*¹² (ll 4, 12 and 17), *°āchāryya*¹³ (ll 6 and 13) and in *dharmma*¹⁴ and *°dharmmēna* in lines 16 and 19. The *v* symbol is used for *b* in *°samudaya vāhy=ā*¹⁵ (ll 4 and 11) and *°viahubhir*¹⁶ (l 23).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the five imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The rules of *sandhi* have been very often violated, specially in respect of a *visarga* at the end of a word, as in *°āyuktakah āryya*¹⁷ (l 1), *°Gṣhālūah arddha*¹⁸ (l 9), *°virōdhah gunas*¹⁹ (l 16), *kulyavāpa adhyarddhō*²⁰ (l 19), *°Nātha-sarmmā śad*²¹ in ll. 4 and 12 is also wrong grammatically.

The document under examination registers the purchase of a fallow state land by a private individual for charitable purposes. The Dhānāidaha,²² the Dāmōdarpur,²³ the Farid.

¹ The left hand margin presents a broken appearance in the central portion. It is probable that, as in No. 3 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, there was a semi circular projection at this place for attaching the seal.

² Above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff.

³ [See fn 5 on p. 61 below—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

pur¹ and the Ghugrāhātī² copper-plates also record similar transactions, the difference being that in the present case the rate at which one *kulyavāpa* of land was sold was 2 *dināras* whereas it was 3 in the case of the Dāmōdarpur grants and 4 in the case of the Faridpur ones. As Nos 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur plates are almost co-eval with the present plate, the difference in the rates mentioned in the two cases must be due to local causes. Probably the quality of the land available was inferior or there was an abundance of fallow land in the locality around Pāhārpur. It was, apparently, owing to such considerations that the 5 *drōnavāpas* (= $\frac{5}{3}$ of a *kulyavāpa* approximately) were, as stated in No 2 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, granted in lieu of a deposit of 2 *dināras*, when the rate was 3 *dināras* to a *kulyavāpa*³.

The grant under notice records that a Brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited 3 *dināras* or gold coins with the city council (*adhishṭhān-ādhiparāṇa*) to secure 1 *kulyavāpa* and 4 *drōnavāpas* of land situated at 4 different villages all lying in the Dakṣiṇāmēśaka-vīhī and Nāgiratṭa-maṇḍala for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc., of the divine arhats at the *vihāra* of Vata-Gōhālī which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nigraṇtha preceptor (*Śramaṇ-āchārya*) Guhanandin, belonging to the Pañcha-stūpa section (*nikāya*) of Benares. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinās, as recorded here, is noteworthy for it bespeaks of the religious toleration of the people of the period.

The Jama *vihāra* at Vaṭa-Gōhālī mentioned in this inscription, it would appear, must have stood at the original site of the present temple at Pāhārpur. The boundaries of the site are partly situated within the limits of the village of Gōālḥitā to the north-west and the mound where the temple has been unearthed was pointed out to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in 1807 as 'Gōālḥitār Pāhār' (the eminence of Gōālḥitā). The identification of Gōālḥitā with the ancient Vaṭa-Gōhālī easily suggests itself as the stem Gōhālī is substantially identical with Gōāl. Few relics of the Jama faith⁴ have come to light during the excavations at Pāhārpur, but numerous Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-reliefs and terra-cotta plaques, dating from the late Gupta times, have been discovered. In the ninth and the succeeding centuries of the Christian era, the Pāhārpur temple was known as the great Buddhist *vihāra* of king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura, the latter place being recognised in the modern village of Ōmpur, a mile to the south of the mound.

Regarding the prevalence of Jainism in Bengal, the Chinese traveller Hsuen-Tsiang, who visited the country of Puṇḍravardhana in the second quarter of the seventh century, records that⁵ "there are some 100 Dēva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous." This statement can now be corroborated by the evidence of the present document which speaks of a *vihāra* presided over by a succession of Nigraṇtha monks, at least 150 years previous to the Chinese pilgrim's visit to the locality. In connection with the name Guhanandin it is worthy of note that the names of the Digambara Āchāryas of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, such as Yaśōnandin, Jayanandin, Kumāranandin, etc., as is shown by the lists, generally end in *nandin*. Puṇḍravardhana is mentioned as one of the seats of Jama pontiffs, beginning with Gupta-Gupta or Vśākh-āchāryya, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu II and Guhanandin must have been one of them.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 193 and *J A S. B.*, N S, Vol VII, p. 475.

² Above, Vol XVIII, p. 74.

³ [If the rate was 3 *dināras* to a *kulyavāpa*, the price of 5 *drōnavāpas*, i.e., $\frac{5}{3}$ of a *kulyavāpa* must be 2 *dināras*.—Ed.]

⁴ [Does this fact support the author's view regarding the situation of the Jama *vihāra* at the site or suggest that the document under notice was brought from outside? Cf his remark about the find in para. I, p 59, above.—Ed.]

⁵ *Bal. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 195.

The procedure followed in ancient Bengal¹ in respect of applications for the purchase and donation of land, as elaborated in the present case, is interesting. The intending donors approached the District Officer (*Āyuktaka*²) and the City Council (*Adhishthān-ādhiparāna*) headed by the venerable Mayor (*Nagara-srēshthīn*) and requested them for sale of land for charitable purposes at the prescribed rate. The Officer and the Council referred the case, in the first instance, to the committee of record-keepers consisting of one chief record-keeper and at least five other record-keepers.³ The latter after making necessary enquiries submitted their report with recommendation in favour of the transaction. The authorities thereupon realised the necessary amount from the applicants and intimated the elders and other householders belonging to the villages concerned to measure out the land and make it over to the applicants for the purpose in view.

The land measure adopted in this grant was based on the measures of grain as is the case in the Dāmōdarpur and other grants. The *kulyavāpa* denoted as much land as could be sown with a *kulya* measure of grain. A *kulya*, according to various ancient authorities, was equivalent to 8 *drōnas*=32 *ādhakas*=128 *prasthas*. Other land measures found in the present record are *drōnavāpa* and *ādhavāpa*.

The date of the grant as given in the inscription is Sam 159 Māgha di 7 and, apparently, refers to the Gupta era, which was in use in Bengal when the charter was issued. As such, it would fall in January 479, A D. The mention of *Paramabhattāraka* in l. 16 can only be taken to refer to the reigning sovereign whose name is not mentioned. The Dāmōdarpur plates show that the kingdom of Budhagupta included the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana at this period and it is not improbable that the unspecified reigning sovereign at the time of the issue of the copper-plate was Budhagupta.

Regarding the identification of the places mentioned in the plate, Puṇḍravardhana has been identified by General Cunningham⁴ with the extensive ruins known as 'Mahāsthān-garh,' 8 miles north of the town of Bogra. Vata-Gōhālī, as stated above, may be the modern Gōālbhītā. I am unable to identify the other localities.

TEXT *

Obverse.

- 1 Svasti [!]* Pundra[varddha]nād-Āyuktakah⁵ Āryya-nagara-srēshthī-purōgañ-ch-ādhiparān-ādhiparānam Dakṣiṇāmśaka-vithēya-Nāgratṭa-
- 2 māṇḍalika-Palāsātta-pārsvika-Vaṭa-Gōhālī-Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Pṛsthuma-pōttaka-Gōshā-tapuñjaka-Māla-Nāgratṭa-prāvēśya-
- 3 Nitva-Gōhālīshū Brāhman-ōttarān-Mahattar-ādī-kutumbinaḥ kṣālam-anuvarṇay-
ānubōdhayanti [!]* Vijñāpayaty-asmān-Brāhmana-Nātha-

¹ [It would be safer to say 'in this part of ancient Bengal' till it is proved by documentary evidence that this procedure was followed in the whole of ancient Bengal.—Ed.]

² [The Faridpur and the Dāmōdarpur grants mention more than one but less than five record keepers. Faridpur grant No. 1 mentions only one record keeper. Will it not be better to say 'the Committee which consisted of one chief record keeper and very often other subordinate record-keepers'?—Ed.]

³ A S R, Vol. XV, pp. 104-117

⁴ From the original plate.

⁵ [The plate correctly gives 'yuktakā āryya'. This reading would show that there were more *Āyuktakas* than two and that Nātha-sarmā and his wife Rāmi approached these *Āyuktakas* with their request for the land.—Ed.]

- 4 śarmmā ētaḍ-bhāryyā Rāmī cha yushmākam-ih-ādhiśhthān ādhikaraṇḍ
dvi-dinārikkyā-kulyavāpēna śāsvat-kāl-ōpabhōgy-ākshaya-nivī-samudaya-vāhy¹-ā
- 5 pratikara-khila-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō-nuvṛttas-tad-arhatī-ānēn-aiva kkrāmēn-āvayōs-
sakūśād-dināra-trayam-upasangrihy-āvayō[s*]-eva-puṇy-āpyā-
- 6 yanāya Vāṭa-Gōhālyām-av²-āsyān-Kāśika³-pañcha-stūpa-nikāyika⁴-nigrantha-Śramaṇ-
āchāryya-Guhanandi śishya-praśishy-ādhiśhthita-vihārē
- 7 Bhagavatām-Arhatām gandha-dhūpa-sumanō dīp-ādy-arthan-tala-vāṭaka-numittān-cha
a[ta*] ēva Vāṭa-Gōhālītō vāstu-drōṇavāpam-adhyarddham-Ja-
- 8 mbudēva-prāvēśya-Prishthima-pōttakōt⁵ kshētram drōṇavāpa chatushtayam Gōshā-
ṭapuñjād-drōṇavāpa-chatushtayam Mūla-Nāgratṭa-
- 9 prāvēśyā-Nitva-Gōhālitaḥ arddha-trika-drōṇavāpān-ity-ēvam-adhyarddham kshētra-
kulyavāpam⁶-akshaya-nivyā dātum-ity-atra⁷ jataḥ prathama-
- 10 Pustapāla-Divākaranandi-Pustapāla-Dhṛtivisthū-Virōchana-Rāmadāsa-Haridāsa-Śāśanandi-
shu prathamau⁸ [nā]m-avadhāraṇa⁹-
- 11 y-āvadhrītam asty-asmaḍ-adhiśhthān-ādhiakaranē dvi-dinārikkyā kulyavāpēna śāsvat-
kāl-ōpabhōgy-ākshaya-nivī-samudaya-vāhy¹⁰-āpratikara-
- 12 [khila*]-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō-nuvṛttas-tad-yad-yushmām¹¹-Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-karmmā
ētaḍ-bhāryyā Rāmī cha Palūśāṭa-pārśvika-Vāṭa Gōhālītha¹² (?) -ya

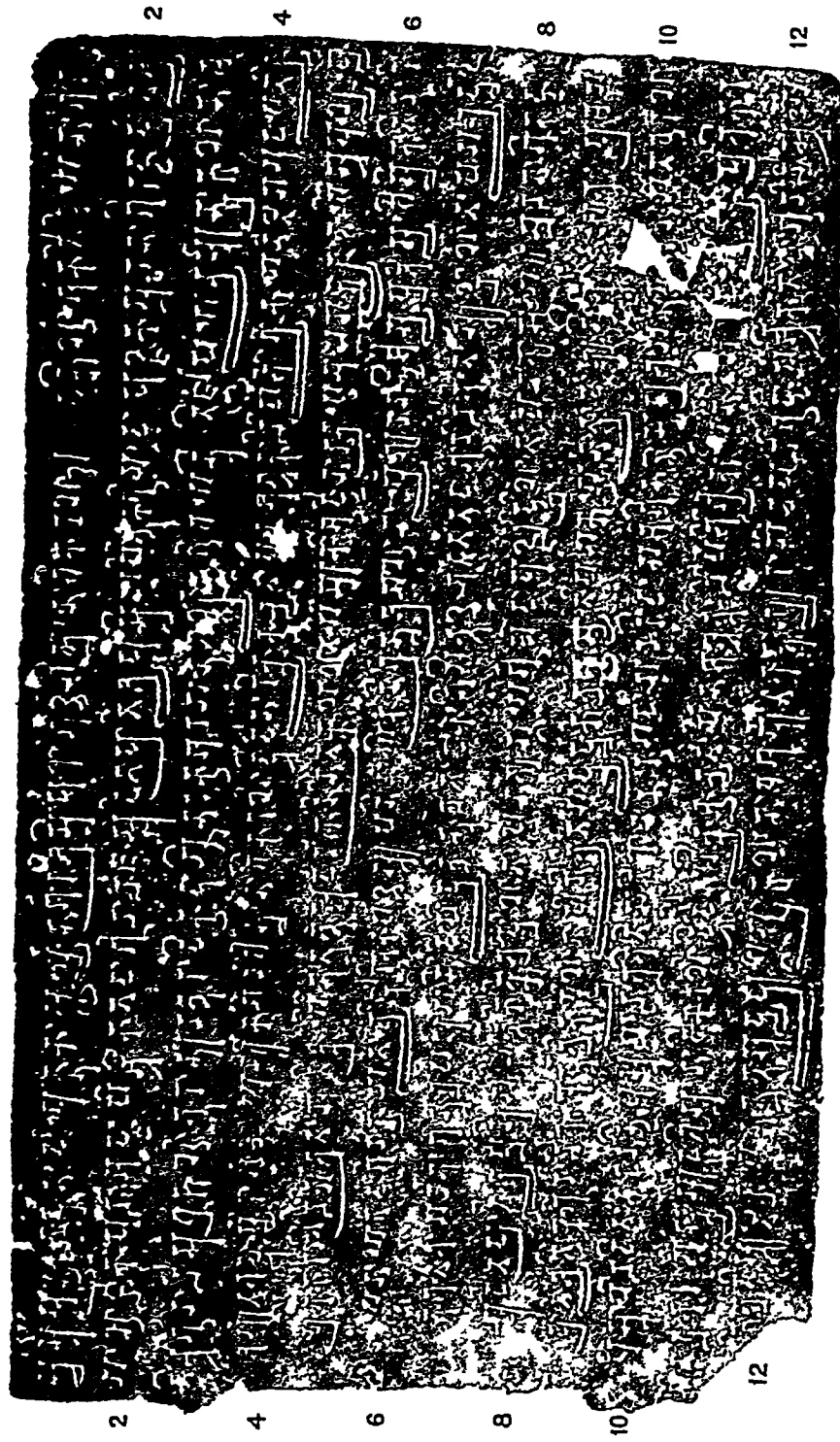
Reverse.

- 13 ka-pañcha-stūpa-kula-nikāyika-āchāryya-nigrantha-Guhanandi-śishya-
praśishy-ādhiśhthita-sad-vihārē Arhatām¹³ gandha-[dhūp] ādy-upayōgāya
- 14 [tala-v*]jāṭaka-numittān-cha tatṭa-aiva Vāṭa-Gōhālyām vāstu-drōṇavāpam-adhyar-
ddham kshētraṇ-Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Prishthima-pōttakōt drōṇavāpa-chatushtayam
- 15 Gōshāṭapuñjād-drōṇavāpa-chatushtayam Mūla-Nāgratṭa-prāvēśya-Nitva Gōhālītō drō-
ṇavāpa-dvayam-ādihavā[pa-dva]y-ādhiakam-ity-ēvam-a-

¹ Read 'vāhy ā'² Read 'ev'³ [Cf. *Navy Avakāśikāyām* of the Faridpur grants 2 and 3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 200 and 201.—Ed.]⁴ This expression is further characterised as *pañcha-stūpa-kula nikāyika* in l. 13 of the text. The word *pañcha-nikāyika* is familiar to the students of Buddhism in the sense of 'one who knows the five Nikāyas'. In the present case, however, the word *stūpa* or *stūpa-kula* occurring between *pañcha* and *nikāyika* and its connection with a Jaina preceptor would seem to show that *Nikāya* must be taken here in the sense of a branch (*śikhā*) of the Jaina Āchāryas. *Pañcha stūpa* may, in that case, be a place name from which a particular branch of the Jaina Āchāryas may have been known.⁵ t is redundant here⁶ The engraver first wrote *drōṇavāpam*, but finding his mistake later, appears to have made an attempt at correction. The erased letters *drōṇa* are clearly visible below *kulya*.⁷ Some letters after this are lost.⁸ [The text of the Dāmōdarpur plates would suggest that *avadhāraṇayā* was preceded by the names of the record keepers which were put in the genitive plural.—Ed.]⁹ Read 'vāhy'¹⁰ Read 'yushmām'.¹¹ [Compare the reading in l. 6 above.—Ed.]¹² Read *Arhatām*,

PAHARPUR COPPER PLATE GRANT OF THE (HITT) YEAR 159.

FIRST SIDE.



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- 16 dhyarddham kshētra-kulyavāpam=prārthayatē¹=tra na kaśchidāvīrōdhah guṇas-
tu yat=parama-bhattāraka-pādānām=artth-ōpachayō dharmma-shad-bhāg-āpyāya-
- 17 nañ=cha bhavati tad ēvan-kriyatām=ity-anēn=āvadhāranā-kkramēn=āsmād-Brā-
hmaṇa-Nātha-śarmmata ētad-bhāryā-Rāmyās=cha dīnāra-tra-
- 18 yam-āyikṛity=aitābhyām vijñāpitaka-kram-ōpayōgāy=ōpari-nirddishta-grāma-Gōhālī-
kēshu tala-vātaka-vāstunā saha kshētram
- 19 kulyavāpa adhyarddhō=kshaya-nivī-dharmmēna dattah ku 1 drō 4 [*]
Tad=yushmābhuh sva-karmmaṇ-āvīrōdhī-sthānē shatka-nadair²-apa-
- 20 viñchchya³ dātavyō-kshaya-nivī dharmmēna cha śasvad=āchandr-ārka-tāraka-
kālam-anu-pālayitavya iti [*] Sam 100 50 9
- 21 Māgha di 7 [*] Uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vyāsēna [*] Sva-dattām para-
dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*]
- 22 sa viśthāyām kṛimī⁴=bhūtva pīṭibhis-saha pachyatē [*] Shashti-varsha-
sahasrāni svarggē vasati bhūmīdah [*]
- 23 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [*] Rājabhīr-vvahu-
bhīr⁵=dattā diyatē cha punah punah [*] yasya yasya
- 24 yadā bhūmī⁶ tasya tasya tadā phalam [*] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō
yatnād-raksha Yudhishthira [*] mahīm-mahimatām⁷ śrēsthā
- 25 dānāch-chhrēyō nupālanam [*] Vindhya-ātavishv=anambunshu⁸ śushka-kōtara-
vāsna[h *] kṛishn=ābhinō⁹ hī jāyantē dēva-dāyam haranti yē [*]

Abstract of Contents

Nātha-śarmma, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approach the District Officer¹⁰ and the City-Council headed by the Mayor (*Nagara-Śrēsthī*) at Puṇḍravardhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in the locality, they may be allowed to deposit three *dīnāras* in return for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kulyavāpas* of land distributed among 4 different villages to be endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower,¹¹ lamps, etc, and for the construction of a resting place at the *vikāra* of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vata-Gōhālī. The details of the lands required were —Fields measuring 4, 4 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *drōnavāpas*, respectively, at the villages of Prishthuma-pōttaka, Gōshātapuñjaka and Nitva-Gōhālī, home-stead land measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ *drōnavāpas* at Vata-Gōhālī

¹ [Read "prārthayatē" ("yātē") —Ed.]

² This expression can be compared with *ashṭakā navaka-n-lābhy-m* occurring in the Dāmōdarpur Plates. The present practice in parts of Bengal and Assam is to measure out the lands by *nalas* or reeds of a definite measurement in cubits, which differ in different localities. The *shajka*, *ashṭaka* and *navaka* as referred to the *nalas* may therefore mean *nalas* of so many cubits (i.e., 8, 8 or 9)

³ [Dr N P Chakravarti connects it with the Bengali word *bāchhā* meaning to select or choose.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *kṛimī* ° [But *kṛimī*, in is also allowed —Ed.] ⁵ Read "bhābhūhīr" ° ⁶ Read *bhūmī* °.

⁷ Read *mahimatām*. [The reading *mahimatām* given in the plate is also correct —Ed.]

⁸ Read *anambunshu* [The plate correctly gives *anambhassu*.—Ed.]

⁹ Read =dhayā.

¹⁰ [See foot note 5 on p 61 above.—Ed.]

¹¹ The mention of flowers in the worship of the Arhats or Jinas indicates a point of difference between the practice of the old Nigrantha and the modern Digambara Jinas. The latter do not permit the use of flowers in as much as the insects likely to be present in the flowers may be destroyed thereby. The Śvētāmbaras, however, have no objection to this practice.

The Council, in the first instance, consulted the Board of Record-Keepers presided over by Divākarānandin, who pointed out that there was no objection to the transaction, especially as, besides bringing some revenue to the treasury, it would entitle His Majesty to a sixth share of the religious merit accruing from the endowment. The Council, therefore, decided to accept the offer of the Brāhmana couple and recorded the transfer of land.

The village elders of the respective villages at which the lands in question were situated, were then asked by the Council to mark out the boundaries of the lands thus granted and maintain them in perpetuity. The date was the 7th day of Māgha, in the [Gupta] year 159. The usual imprecatory verses follow.

No. 6 —KOTAVUMACHGI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA V

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M A, OOTACAMUND

Kōtavumachgi is a village about 14 miles to the north-east of Gadag, the headquarters of the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District. The inscription, which is edited below, is engraved on a stone-tablet set up in front of the temple of Kalamāśvara which is standing there. The inscribed portion of the stone covers an area of 6' 2" by 1' 11" and is in a state of very good preservation. The inscription is neatly written in the Kanarese script of about the 11th century A D. As regards palaeography, the chief points requiring notice are (i) the lingual *d* and *l* are not clearly distinguished from the dental *d*, compare for example *chhandav alamkāra* (l. 25), *pamneradu* (ll. 17, 29), *kūnde* (l. 33), *paḍiyale* (l. 34), etc., (ii) the *u*-sign is indicated in three different ways, viz., (1) by a short hook at the bottom of the letter as in *Puligere* (l. 7), *pamneradu* (ll. 17, 29), *vondu* (l. 36), etc., (2) by a mark with a downward bend by the side of the letter, as in *kuḍise kude* (l. 13), *matlar-aydu* (ll. 18, 20), *kuruva gey* (l. 28), etc., and (3) by a long right side stroke shooting from the bottom of the letter as in *Pushya śuddha* (l. 10), *nivāsanamgaḷu* (l. 46), (iii) the *e* sign is given, sometimes, below the letter and resembles the *u* sign, as in *Puligere* (l. 7) or in *belgode* (l. 13). In one case it is represented by a horizontal stroke at the bottom of the letter, as in *Belvola* (l. 7), (iv) the final *m* is used in two places, i.e., in ll. 52 and 51 and is shaped like the secondary *ma*. Excepting the three imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, which come at the end, the record is written in Kanarese prose of the mediæval period. The words *ghalige* (l. 13) (which is a *tadbhava* of *ghatikhā*) and *chhatta* (l. 24) (which is the *tadbhava* of *chhātra*) are of lexical interest, so also, *kuruva gey* (l. 28), *kūnde* (l. 33), *paḍiyale* (l. 34) and *pārīkhāya* (l. 41). In orthography the only point which requires mention here is the use of *r* and *l* in place of *r* and *l* as in *mūru* (l. 33) and *eḷu-lōḷi* (l. 48) respectively.

After *svasti*, the inscription opens with the usual prelude announcing that Tribhuvana-malla Vikramādityadēva (V) was reigning at the time and that Boḷvola-Three Hundred and Puligere-Three Hundred were administered by his subordinate *Dandanāyaka* Kōśavayya whom it describes as 'the obtainer of the five great *śabdas*, the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati*, the great and fierce commander-in-chief of armies and a favourite hero of his master' (ll. 1-8). After giving the date (ll. 9-11) it records that *Dandanāyaka* Kōśavayya granted, with the king's permission, the village Ummachige situated in Nareyamgal-Twelve to Maunara Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa of Ropa (ll. 9-13). The latter, in his turn, entrusted it to the 101 *Mahājanas* of the place specifying certain conditions to be observed by them. Lines 14-32 mention the income of certain estates under

Śobhanarasa in the government of those provinces in about A.D. 982. It is likely that Taula II, after overthrowing the Gaṅga chief Pañchaladēva shortly after A.D. 975, invested Kannapa¹ with the governorship of the two districts as stated in the above record. Thus we get, after the downfall of the Gangas, a succession of rulers of the Belvola and Purigore provinces in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, namely Kannapa, Śobhanarasa, Kōśavarasa and Vāvanarasa.

From this inscription it can be gathered that Ummachige was a great educational centre in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. and maintained a college, with a free hostel attached to it, where instruction was imparted in several sciences. It allots a share of fifty *mattar* with one house-site to the *Bhatta* who could expound *Nyāsa* and *Prabhākara* and twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils studying those subjects, while twenty-five *mattar* and one house-site only are given to the *Akkariga* (man of letters) named Nāgadēsiga who could teach and compose works on mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics, etc., and was well versed in grammar. It is enjoined that this Nāgadēsiga should teach his pupils feeding them once a day and supplying them with a cloth every year. These two *vruttis* are respectively called *bhatta vrutti* and *akkariga-vrutti* in the record. It is interesting to note that the *Bhatta* and his pupils are the recipients of separate shares in the village whereas the *Akkariga*, who enjoys a lesser income, has also to feed and clothe his pupils. From this distinction in the two *vruttis*, it is apparent that the curriculum of education was divided into two sections of which one was intended for specialisation in *sāstras* and the other meant for the general needs of a student. Among the subjects taught, *Nyāsa*² was, possibly, be a work on grammar, *Prabhākara* is a work of the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophy started by Prabhākara.

The record is interesting from another point of view also. It gives us a peep into the system of village administration in ancient times in Karnāṭaka. From the details of the grant given in ll. 14-41, it seems that the proper conduct of worship in temples, the imparting of education, the feeding of ascetics, the supply of water to the village people and the punishment of criminals were the chief items which claimed the immediate attention of the administrator. Regarding the last item, it is worthy of note that the inscription mentions a number of crimes taken cognisance of by the authorities and the penalties imposed in each case.³ They are (1) for abusing one another (*baydade*), 2 *panas*, (2) for assault (*baṭṭade*), 12 *panas*; (3) for drawing out the dagger (*suriga gūṭade*), 3 *gadyānas*—a *māni*⁴ who ascends the processional *maṇḍapa* with weapons is excepted, (4) for stabbing (*uridade*), 12 *gadyānas* and (5) for a bachelor (*māni*) committing adultery (*māni sūle-gēdade*), 3 *gadyānas*. It is stated that the fines thus realised together with the spoils (*kararie*), one tenth (*daśavandha*)⁵ of the escheat property (*aputrika-dravya*)⁶ and taxes on musical instruments must be utilised for the upkeep and repairs of the tank called Dēyimigere mentioned above. The *Urodeya*, i.e., the village officer was authorised to change the amount

¹ Hebbal inscription of A.D. 975 mentions a certain Kannapayya as the *Perggaḍe* of Bhujagabbarasi, the grandmother of the Gaṅga chief Mārasihha II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.

² References to *Nyāsa* in Sanskrit literature show that it must be a grammatical work. See *Catalogus Catalogorum* by T. Aufrecht, p. 312 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XLIV, p. 276 and XLV, p. 26 and Māgha, II, 122.

³ See *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dehkan* by K. V. S. Alvar, pp. 326 ff. and *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

⁴ *Māni* is a *brahmachārin* who does service in the temple. See S. I. L., Vol. III, part iii, p. 227. In line 35, however, it is used in the sense of *upanayana*.

⁵ *Daśavandha* means a tenth part; it does not seem to have been used here in its technical sense of land or of revenue granted as a compensation for the construction, repairs, etc., of a tank, well or channel. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 107, note 12 and page 287, note 2.

⁶ According to *Manusmṛiti*, IX, 182, *aputrika dravya* was the state property. In this case, however, it belonged to Śrīdhara Bhatta who set apart one tenth of it for the purpose specified.

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of fines in respect of certain crimes according to the caste of the offender This is in keeping with the laws laid down in the *Dharmasūtra* ¹

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Rōna is the modern Ron, the headquarters of the Ron Taluk in the Dharwar District Nareyamgal which was the chief town of Nareyamgal-12, a sub-division in the Belvola-300 province, is the modern Naregal situated at a distance of 10 miles from Ron Ummachige is evidently identical with Kōtavumachgi where the record was found

TEXT:

- 1  Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āsraya-Śrī Pṛthvī-vallabha-mahārā-
- 2 jādhirāja-paramēśvara paramabhattachakam Satvāsraya-ku-
- 3 la-talakam Chūlukābhāranam śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-Vikra-
- 4 māditṛyadāvara rājyam=uttarōttarābhivṛddhigo salutta-
- 5 m-are [||*] Samadhiyata-pamecha-mahāśabda mahāsāmantādhipati
- 6 mahā-prachanda-dandanāyakam pṛti meche gaṇḍam śrīmad-Dandanā-
- 7 yakam Kāśavayamga| Belvola-mūnūgam Puligere-mūnūgam su-
- 8 kha-simkathū-vimōdadin-ājuttam-īdu [||*] Śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-
- 9 dāvaram prā[r]itṛi Rōnada Maunara Śrīdharabhattacharge Śaka-varsha 934-
- ne a
- 10 Paridhāvi samvatsarada Pushya suddha ashtamī Ādityavāra vuttarā-
- 11 yaṇa samkrāntiyandu Nareyamgal-Panneradaṇḍagana Ummachi-
- 12 [ge]yam sarvaśābhyamtara siddhiyāgi sarvanamaśyav-aggrahāram mā-
- 13 di śāsanaṁ belgode ghaḷige vamsu padedu kuḍise kuḍe paded-āyū-
- 14 ran-ī-Śrīdharabhattachar-nūṇānāvar-mamahājanake bharaṇam geydu tayagam
- 15 mahājanakkam prajegam māḍida vyavastheyum² dharmma-brayad-upabiyada
- 16 mānyada bhūmiya niviśanada pramāṇamu[m-e]nt=ene Sōmēśvaradēvargge ma-
- 17 ttar-āṇu Bhāgiyabbāśvarakke mattar=ppanneradu elḷkōti-tapōdhanara
- 18 satrakke mattar=ppanneradu Āychagāvundana dēgulakke mattar=aydu maney-o-
- 19 ndu Ādityadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=ondu Bettada-Bhagavatige
- 20 mattar=aydu maney=ondu Nārāyaṇadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=onda=
- 21 nt-ayvattu mattar=kkeyyuman=avaṇa nivēsanamga|uvam Bendeyabhatārara
- sam-
- 22 tatiya brahmacharyyavulla naishṭhika-tapōdhanar-āgiy-anubhavisuvar [||*]
- 23 Mārakabbe Bhatārige mattar=ppanneradu maney=ondu Nyāsam Prabhākara-
- vuvam
- 24 vakkhūnisi guṇaśūsanadin-unba bhatta-vṛiti mattar=ayvattu³ maney=ondu
- chēbhattacharge

¹ Compare *Manusmṛiti*, Chap^t VIII, Vv 267-268 and *Yājñatalkyasṁṛiti*, Chap^t II, Vv 220-224

² From ink impression

³ The u-agn is indistinct and resembles the consonant y mark

- 25 mattar=irppattaydu gaṇitam jōyisa chehhandavajamkāravuvan=ābhaya.. veyuvam
ba-
- 26 reyalum bājisalum balla śabda-samskāravu||āta Nāgadēsīgargge nityasthitiy=o-
- 27 ndu po[ta]-āhāramum varishakk-ondū kappāḍavuvan=ikkīy=ōdisi guṇaśāsa-
- 28 nadim=ā|v=aḱkariga-vṛitti mattar=irppattaydu maney=ondū kuruva-gey=mattar=
ppanne-
- 29 raḍu maney=ondū ga|amtige-gey=mattar-āṇu maney=ondū nāvida-gey=mattar=
em-
- 30 ṭu maney=ondū parekārgge mattar=ppanneraḍu maney=ondū guṇaśāsanadī-
- 31 n=ā|vara satrakke mattar=nnūṇu mane yeraḍ=antu dharmma-vrayakkam
vupabiyakkam
- 32 mattar-mūnūṇu Ūroḍeyargge mānyada key=mattar-innūṇu maneg=engga-
- 33 yyagala virppattaygay-ni|a[da] nivēśanam mūru¹ [śāśva]ta² sumkam gāṇa-vevalige
kūṇḍe mu-
- 34 ṭṭige paḍiya|e yajnadal=ondū gadyāṇam³=aydu paṇam madu-
veyal=era
- 35 ḍu paṇam māṇiyal=ondū paṇam Bā[du]be Kāra-puṇnamī Dīpāḷige mūṇu
parvvadoḷam
- 36 pratyḱka vondū gadyāṇa imt=inituv=Ūroḍeyargge orbar=orbaram baydaḍe
daṇḍav=eraḍu
- 37 panam baḍidaḍe panneraḍu paṇam surige-gi|taḍe mūṇu gadyāṇav=īḍidaḍe
panneraḍu gadyā
- 38 nam jātī-bhēḍav=aṇḍu daṇḍavarām viśēśham-mā|pa[r] māṇi sūle-gēdaḍe⁴
mūṇu gadyā-
- 39 ṇam prāyaschittam-go|vandu mūṇu gadyānam māṇiy-āyudha berasu maṇḍa-
pa-
- 40 vēṇal=sallad=imt=i-daṇḍadoḷam kava[r]tteyoḷav=aputrika-dravyada daśavandhadoḷam
putṭi-
- 41 da dravyamuvam ka|e madda|eya paṇamum Dēyimgerege [||*] Idaṇ=
upēkshisidūtam
- 42 keṇyan=oḍeda pātakan=akkum pārīkhāyam modalāg-e|la mūrggē . . ni-
- 43 vṛśanam koṭṭa yikkuvavargge gāmuṇḍarggam kījātiya mukkyarggam pra-
- 44 tyēkam maney=ond=āchandr-ārka-tārambarām mānyada satrada dharmma-
bra-
- 45 yad-upabiyad=ant=anitiv=eḍeya key=mattar=amūṇuman=⁵alliy=alli-
- 46 ya nivṛśanamga|uman=enitu dushkālav=ādaḍam mahājanam kādū-
- 47 ḍavar=idakke tappidavar=Kurukshētradoḷam Vāraṇāśīyoḷam
- 48 e|u-kōṭi Brāhmaṇaruvan=e|u-kōṭi tapōdhanaruvan=e|u-kōṭi

¹ The word mūru is written below the line

² Read [śaśva]ta.

³ The writing here is completely effaced.

⁴ Read 'geydaḍe.

⁵ Between ra and nū a superfluous letter which looks like ṇu is written and erased.

- 49 kavileyuvan=aḷida pamcha-mahā-pātakan=akkum || Sāmānyō-
 50 yam dharmma-sētur(sētur)=nripāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhīh |
 51 sarvān=ētān=bhāgīnah pārtthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadrah ||
 52 Śīa-dattām para dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharam [|*] shashti var-
 sha-sahasrāṇi viśtāyām¹ jāya-
 53 tē kṛimih || Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhīs=Sagar ādībhīh [|*] yasya
 yasya yadā bhūmī-
 54 [s=ta]sya tasya tadā phalam || Gōvīndabhatta[m] bareda Chāvōjam
 kaṇḍarīsida mangala mahā-śrī [|*]

Translation.

(Ll 1-4) Hail ! While the reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalla Vikramādityadēva, the refuge of the whole world, the lord of Fortune and Earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhattārāja*, the decoration of the race of Satyāśraya, an ornament of the Chālukyas, was increasing in prosperity,

(Ll 5-8) while the chief of great feudatories, the august General who had attained the five *mahāśābdas*, a man of might causing pleasure to his master, the glorious *Dandanāyaka* Kēśavayya was administering with enjoyment of pleasant conversation, the Belvola-Three Hundred and Pulige-Three Hundred (*provinces*),

(Ll 8-13) (*Kēśavayya*), after requesting the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva, made (*the village*) Ummachige situated in Nareyamgal-Twelve into an *agrahāra* on *sarianamasya* tenure along with full and complete rights of enjoyment of all the properties and obtaining it (*from him*) together with the royal charter, the white umbrella and *ghaṭige* (*i.e.*, an assembly hall)², caused it to be granted to Maunara Śrīdharabhatta of Rōṇa, on the eighth day of the bright half of Pushya, Sunday, the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, in the Śaka year 934 corresponding to the cyclic year Paridhāvi.

(Ll 13-16) That Śrīdharabhatta, after thus getting it, entrusted the village to the hundred and four Mahājanas with the conditions of enjoyment by himself, the Mahājanas and the people (*of the village*), the extents of land and house sites for meeting the expenses of charity, other auxiliary objects and for grants for services (*mānya*) are as follows —

(Ll 16-22) Six *mattar* to god Sōmēśvara, twelve *mattar* to (*the temple of*) Bhāgīabbēśvara³, twelve *mattar* to the feeding house of *ellōti* ascetics, five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Āychagā-vuṇḍa's temple, five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Ādityadēva, five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to (*the goddess*) Bettada-Bhagavati, five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to god Nārāyana—these fifty *mattar* of land in all and the house-sites attached to them must be enjoyed by the bachelors of the family of Bendeyabhattāra, following the course of the *naishthika*⁴ ascetics

¹ Read *viśtāyām*

² See above Vols XIII, p 327n and XV, p 93

³ The temple was perhaps named after Bhāgalabbe, the mother of Vikramāditya V

⁴ *Naishthika* is one who lives in the house of his preceptor as a *brahmachārī* throughout his life. He is described as follows in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* —

नैष्ठिको ब्रह्मचारी च ब्रह्मचार्यसन्निधौ । तदभावेऽस्य सनयि परम्यां धैर्यानिर्दिष्टे वा ॥

अथैव विधिना देहं साधयित्वितिद्वयः । ब्रह्मलीकमवाप्नोति न चैव जायते पुनः ॥

(Ll 23-32) Twelve *mattar* and one house(-site) to the deity Mārakabbe Bhatūri, fifty *mattar* and one house(-site) towards *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti* to be enjoyed in return for performing the duties of expounding *Nyūsa* and *Prabhākara*, twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils, twenty-five *mattar* and one house(-site) as *akṣaṅga-vṛtti* to Nāgadēsiga who was able to compose and expound (the works on) mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics and . and who had a knowledge of sounds (i.e., *Vyākaraṇa*), to be utilised for his daily requirements in virtue of his services of teaching his pupils, feeding them once a day and supplying (them) with a cloth every year, twelve *mattar* and one house(-site) for (the supply of) tender cocoanuts¹; six *mattar* and one house(-site) for (the supply of) vessels² for *abhishēka*, eight *mattar* of land and one house(-site) for barbers; twelve *mattar* and one house(-site) for drummers, (one) hundred *mattar* and two house(-sites) to the feeding-house of those that manage by *guṇaśūsana*³. Thus in all three hundred *mattar* (were set apart) for charity and auxiliary expenses

(Ll 33-36) Two hundred *mattar* as *mānya* land and three house(-sites)—eight hands broad and twenty-five hands long each—to the *Urodeya*. Moreover, the *Urodeya* (shall get these following) taxes permanently—a *kūṇḍe* for the open space of an oil-press, the reaper of a door-frame for every set of wooden materials (for building purposes)⁴, one *gadyāna* for a vedic sacrifice, five *panas* for , two *panas* for a marriage, one *pana* on the occasion of *upanayana*, one *gadyāna* severally on the three *parvas* of *Bādube*, *Kārapinnine* and *Dipālige*

(Ll 36 43) The incomes accruing from the following fines, viz, two *panas* for abusing one another, twelve *panas* for beating, three *gadyānas* for drawing out the dagger, twelve *gadyānas* for stabbing—(they) may change (the amount of) fine considering the distinction of caste—three *gadyānas*, in case a bachelor commits adultery, three *gadyānas* on the occasion of purification ceremony—except when a *māni* gets up a processional *mandapa* with weapons⁵, that obtained as spoils (after a raid), one-tenth (*daśavandha*) of the escheat property of persons dying intestate and the taxes on (musical instruments) *kale* and *maddale* (the drum), all these shall go to (the tank called) *Dēyimgere*. He who neglects this shall incur the sin of breaking the tank. A house-site including *pārikhāya*, etc, (was set apart). Those that keep a cowpen (*loṭṭa*), the *gūmunḍas* and the chief men of the low caste (must get) one house(-site) each.

(Ll 43 46) The five hundred *mattar* (of land) and the respective sites (attached to them), (granted) as *mānya*, and for the purposes of feeding house, charity and auxiliary gifts, the *Mahājanas* shall protect and cause to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the stars (exist), however adverse the times may be

(Ll 46-48) Those that fail (to carry this out) shall incur the five great sins consequent upon the killing at Kurukshētra and Vārāṇasī, of seven crores of Brahmīns, seven crores of ascetics and seven crores of tawny cows

(Ll 48 53) Three imprecatory verses

(L 54) Gōvīṇḍabhaṭṭa wrote (this), and Chāvōja engraved. (May there be) fortune and great prosperity

¹ *Kuruvā* seems to stand for *kuruvē* which means a tender cocoanut (See Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p 446)

² The word used here is *gaṇṭige* which is a *śabdāva* of the Sanskrit word *gaṇṭikā*. It means a small water-jar with a hole in the bottom from which the water drops upon a *linga*.

³ The exact significance of this word is not clear

⁴ For the meaning of the word *muffu*, see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p. 1263.

⁵ This parenthetical clause evidently provides an exception to the fine stated above for drawing out the sword.

No 7—THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA

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This inscription is incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hāthīgumphā, an artificial cave, on the southern face of the Udayagiri, a low range of hills situated about three miles from Bhuvaneśvar in the Puri district of Orissa. It was noticed for the first time by Stirling in 1825² and was published by Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837³. In 1877 Cunningham published a tracing in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*⁴. In 1880 the late Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra published another version of this inscription⁵. About this time a cast of this inscription was prepared and taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The first reliable version of the record was issued from the able pen of the late Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1885⁶. In 1895 and 1898 the late Dr Bühler proposed certain corrections⁷. The first inked impression was taken by the late Dr T Bloch in 1906 and sent to Prof Kielhorn from whom it passed on to the late Dr J F Fleet, who published two short notes proposing certain corrections in the reading of the 16th line⁸. In the same year Prof Lüders of Berlin published a summary of this inscription⁹. In 1913 RDB¹⁰ examined portions of this record at the request of KPJ, and in 1917 he prepared two inked impressions at the request of the late Dr V A Smith and KPJ,¹¹ one of which was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*,¹² and the second sent to Dr F W Thomas, the then editor of this journal. Soon after the publication of the text KPJ went to the cave and prepared a revised text of his readings from the rock itself and published the same in 1918 in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*¹³. Sir Edward Gait, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa, who was greatly interested in the decipherment of the inscription, arranged a deputation of RDB, the then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, to go with KPJ. and in 1919, we both examined the entire inscription on the spot. In the meantime a cast of the inscription was prepared at the suggestion of KPJ by the Government of Bihār and Orissa. The order of Sir Edward Gait in this respect was executed by the late Mr. H Panday of the Archaeological Survey Department who had accompanied KPJ. formerly and had become familiar with the inscription and the problems connected with it. This cast is now preserved in the Patna Museum. It is as successful a copy as the present condition of the original allowed it to be. Two impressions on paper were also taken for the Patna Museum. With the help of these materials the study was carried on by KPJ at Patna. In 1924 both of us again went over the corrections. In 1927 KPJ. published the results of his further studies in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* with new plates prepared

¹ [I am sorry to record here his sad and untimely death which took place at Calcutta on 23rd May 1930. Scholars of Mr R D Banerji's type it is difficult to replace—Ed]

² *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp 313 ff

³ *J. A S B*, Vol. VI, pp 1075-91, pl LVIII.

⁴ Pp 27 f, 98-101, 132 ff, pl XVII.

⁵ *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp 16 ff

⁶ *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, pt III, section 2, pp 162-177.

⁷ *Indian Studies*, No III, p 13=Origin of Indian Brāhma Alphabet, pp 13 f.

⁸ *J R A S*, 1910, pp 242 ff and 824.

⁹ *Ante*, Vol X, App, pp 160 61, No 1345

¹⁰ [Author's initials]

¹¹ Vol III, pl L

¹² Vol. IV pp 364 ff.

from the paper impressions preserved in the Patna Museum ¹ In 1928 some further notes were published by him in the same journal ² We have again conjointly examined the cast and the impressions and effected a few important improvements in the reading and explanation as offered below Amongst notable contributions on the problems connected with the inscription, we refer to the articles by Dr Sten Konow³ and Dr F. W. Thomas⁴ We have to thank our friend Prof Anant Sadashiv Altekar for the help he has rendered to us in preparing the notes for this edition.

The Hāthīgumphā appears to have been a natural cavern which was later on converted into a temple or residence The roof consists of a huge boulder, and the inscription begins on the southern face but is continued up to a place where the stone has become actually the roof of the cave The last eight or nine lines occur on a sloping surface where it is difficult either to read or copy them Both of us had to recline partly on our backs to read the portion from the rock Below the inscription the walls of the natural cavern have been chiselled straight and at places are as beautifully polished as those of the Barābar caves. Near the floor there are sundry rock-cut partitions which do not appear to have been regular walls as they do not go up to the roof. In the dressed and polished portion of the side or the wall of the cave there are a number of later inscriptions (of about the 10th or the 11th century A D) many of which contain proper names which are not of any historical interest⁵ They prove, however, that the cave was visited by pilgrims up to the 10th century and therefore it must have been considered some sort of a sacred shrine It seems reasonable to expect that the great Jaina king Khāravela inscribed the record of his reign at a place which was holy in his eyes Is it impossible that this is the place where Mahāvīra had preached the Jaina religion in Kalinga, because this inscription proves that the place was included in Kalinga at that time and there is a distinct reference to the preaching of Jainism in its 14th line? The bed of the cave is full of sand in front and unless it is excavated its original form cannot be determined Three stone pillars have lately been put up in front of the cave, to protect the inscription from the effects of the weather, under the orders of Government The Hāthīgumphā stands at right angles to the Svargapuri and Mañchavuri on its left and the Sarpa cave on its right There are several small and large excavations on the top of the boulder which forms the roof of the cave As a whole the entire record has been very carefully inscribed In two places only letters have been left out In l 14 the letter *ya* in *arahaṇyate* was left out and incised between ll 14 and 15, its position in l 14 being indicated by a *kākapada* Two other letters *sa* and *ha* (?) are to be found in the interspaces immediately after *ya* but cannot be connected with any word in l 14

As regards orthography the inscription presents very few peculiarities Ligatures are carefully avoided and the only instances where we meet with them are *Kaṣṭha-bemnā*- (l 4), *Bamhūnīnam* (l 9) and *-vinśrīto* (l 17) In the majority of cases the nasals are replaced by *anuseṭra* excepting the places where they are used either as initials or medials The initial forms are to be seen in *-śūvakehi* (l 14) and *śānīnam* (l 15) and the medial forms in °*raṇī*° (l 15) and in the ligature in *Kaṣṭha bemnā*- (l 4) The use of the cerebral nasal is erratic and in the majority of cases the dental has been used but the cerebral is rather rare and is to be met with in *saṃpūna*- (l 2) and *guna*- (l 17) only. With the exception of two cases all the sibilants are dental These two cases are the cerebral in *-deṣṭa*- (l 11) and the palatal in *-vinśrīto*

¹ Vol. XII, pp. 221 ff.

² Vol. XIV, pp. 150 ff.

³ *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 12 ff.

⁴ *J R A S*, 1922, pp. 83 f.

⁵ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

(l 17) The writing seems to have been done by three different hands, and it is possibly on this account that the forms of the characters sometimes differ. The first part of the inscription was written on a carefully dressed surface but after the 4th and 5th lines the surface was undressed, and towards the end of all the lines after the 5th there are numerous chisel-marks which make the decipherment extremely difficult.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. The use of *ra*, the affix *o* at the end of the nominatives of masculine stems ending in *a*, and the absence of palatal *śa* show that it is not Mīyadhī or any eastern dialect of it. Throughout the inscription the dental has practically replaced all other sibilants. The doubling of consonants, even when necessary, has been omitted. The cerebralisation of dentals is also to be seen, as in *paṭhāpayati* (l 4). There is also an attempt to approach classical Sanskrit in certain cases, e.g., *Māhāmeghāvāhanena* (l 1) and *śam-dūṇayati* (l 12), etc. Throughout the record the liquifaction of consonants is absent. This would indicate that the record was composed by a man from Western India who wrote in a literary dialect. It is quite possible that the record was composed by a Jaina monk from Gujārāt or the Mahārāṣṭra who might have been brought into Kalinga by King Khāravela for the purpose mentioned in l 16. The language of the record is a very near approach to the canonical Pālī. But, as in Jaina Śaurasēnī, *tha* in this dialect becomes *dha*, cf. *padhane* (l 3), *°radha*° (l 4), *vitadha* (l 5), *Goradhagiri*- (l 7), *Madhuram* (l 8), *Bharadhavasa*- (l 10), *Utarīpadha*- (l 11), but not in all cases, cf. *Pithumda*- (l 11). The extraordinary form *chavuthe* (l 5) is a graphic form of *chāuthe*, but Prakrit *chāu* becomes *cho* in *Choyatli* (l 16) which is a later Prakrit form of *chaturshashṭi*. So also Sanskrit *turitam* becomes *turiyam* (l 16) instead of *turiam*. Perhaps *turitam* was the intermediate form but the change of *ta* into *ya* instead of *a* is exceptional.¹

The characters of the inscription show great variety. Among the vowels, the initial forms of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *e*, *o* are to be found in it. The medial *ā* is denoted by a perfectly horizontal line in many cases as well as by a slanting stroke, as in *paṭhāpayati* (l 4) and *-samuthāpitāhi* (l 15). The medial form of the long *i* shows two diverging slanting strokes, in *-sa-ira-* (l 2) and two converging curved strokes in *kāṭitā* (l 2). Among consonants two different forms of *lha* are noticeable, *Khāravelo*° (l 1) and *lekha*° (l 2) in which the triangle at the bottom is either present or absent. Two different forms of *ga* are present, the angular Maurya form as in *nagarim* (l 5), and the broad-backed Kushāna form, as in *Kalim ā*° (l 1). Three forms of *gha* are clear —(1) the Maurya form with a circular bottom, (2) the transitional form in which the only side of the curve has turned into a right angle, cf. *-oghātītām* (l 6), and (3) the complete second century form in which, though the length of the left-hand side vertical is not reduced, the lower part of the letter consists of two right angles instead of a curve. Two different forms of *ta* are to be found, the Maurya, as in *hita-*, *-ti-rasa-* (l 6) and the later, as in *°pateye* (l 6). In the case of *da* also we find two forms, the Maurya, as in *pamdarasa-* (l 2) and the later, as in *°dātī* (l 9). Three different forms can be distinguished in the case of *pa* and *ma* —(1) the Maurya form, as in *paṭhāpayati* and *pachkima-* (l 4), (2) the transitional form, as in *-patinā* (l 1), *-lānīpanāhi* (l 5), *matula-* (l 7), *Madhuram* (l 8), etc.; (3) the later form with angles fully developed in the place of curves as in *kapa-rukhe* (l 9), *apayālo* (l 8), *-samāja*° (l 5), and *Satamam* (l 7). It should be noted that the Kushāna form of *ma* is altogether wanting in this inscription. So also in the case of *ha* we find the Maurya form in *-śahasehi* and *haya-* (l 4), the transitional form in *Mahārāja*° and *Māhāmeghāvāhanē*° (l 1) and the angular form in *-lavahāra-* (l 2). The general duct of the writing shows that the Hāthigumphā inscription was inscribed at a time when the length of the verticals had not begun to decrease and the curves had just begun to become angularised. Therefore, this inscription

¹ [See f. ns 11 & 12 on page 89 below —Ed.]

belongs to the same period as the earliest inscription from Mathurā edited by Bühler¹, and it cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century B C or later than that of the 1st century B C For *na, na* and other letters a reference is invited to the detailed palaeographical analysis by RDB, elsewhere ²

There are two symbols, one over the other at the beginning, and one at the end of the record At the beginning the first symbol looks like a crown KPJ identifies it with the *Vaddha mangala* ³ The second is the *Svastika*. The last symbol is the Sacred Tree within a square enclosure or railing There is an elaborate system of spacing in this record, the larger, corresponding to full stops There is space before almost every proper name The smaller spaces indicate clauses of a sentence

It has been proved by repeated examinations of the rock that there is no date in a Maurya era in the 16th line of this inscription, as supposed by the late Bhagvanlal Indraji and ourselves formerly. The date will therefore depend upon synchronisms The first of these synchronisms is with *Sātakarni* It is now absolutely certain that the family name of the dynasty founded by Simuka is *Sātavāhana* and not *Sātakarni* ⁴ The Nānāghāt inscriptions supply the label *Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhana* for the statue of Simuka There were more kings than one of the name of *Sātakarni*, and the first king of that name is called *Śrī Sātakarni* both on his coins and in the label on his statue at Nānāghāt Subsequent *Sātakarnis* with whose names we meet in epigraphical records added their metronymies to distinguish themselves from their predecessors, e g, Gautamīputra *Sātakarni*, Vāsishṭhīputra *Śiva-Śrī Sātakarni* and Gautamīputra *Śrī Yajña Sātakarni* It is therefore evident that this record refers to a *Sātakarni* who was a contemporary king in the Western regions. The name is not to be taken as a reference to an unidentified dynastic title And the only king of this dynasty who can safely be ascribed to the period when Khāravela was ruling is *Śrī Sātakarni*, the husband of Nāyanikā, and not Gautamīputra or *Śiva Śrī* or *Śrī Yajña* About Gautamīputra *Sātakarni* it is to be observed that the long record in cave No. 3 in the Pāṇḍulēnā group does not mention the king or the country of Kalinga, and thereby proves that Kalinga or Orissa was not included in his conquests and, very probably also, that he did not come in close contact with Khāravela or any other king of Kalinga, though the Amarāvati and China inscriptions of Pulumāvi and *Śrī Yajña* prove definitely that the whole of Kalinga had passed under their dominion ⁵ The other kings of the name of *Sātakarni* are excluded as being, *inter alia*, too late to be Khāravela's contemporaries According to the Purāṇic lists *Sātakarni* II comes 36 years after *Sātakarni* I. RDB. has proved that the dissentient view about the Hāthīgumphā inscription being later than the Nānāghāt records is untenable ⁶ Therefore the *Sātakarni* of the Hāthīgumphā inscription must be *Sātakarni* I. The statement in l 6 about Khāravela's subjugation of the Raṭṭhikas and Bhojakas shows that up to the 4th year of the reign of Khāravela they existed as separate states, as in the time of Aśoka, but subsequently these states must have been swallowed up by the Sātavāhanas. Therefore, Khāravela's conflict with *Sātakarni* must have taken place

¹ *Ante*, Vol II, p 198

² *Memoirs, A. S. B*, Vol. X, pp 133 ff

³ *J B O R S*, Vol III, p 429.

⁴ KPJ put it forward in 1914 in his *Brahmin Empire*, and the view has been confirmed by the discovery of the last record of the family name, clearly. *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 153 *Sātavāhana* as the family-name is fully borne out by literature. [See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 258 ff on *Sātavāhana* history — K. P. J.]

⁵ *Ante* Vol. X, App. Nos. 1248 and 1340.

⁶ *Memoirs, A. S. B*, Vol. X, p. 145. [See also *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 258 ff — K. P. J.]

before the formation of the Sātavāhana empire covering the whole of Marāṭhī speaking (e.g., Barhādī, Khāndesi, Northern Marāṭhī and Konkani) area

The reference in the 6th line to the canal from *Tanasulīya-rūta*, which was excavated in the year 103 of King Nanda, will fix the upper limit of Khāravela's time, like the reference to Muriya-kāla (the time of Muriya in l. 16) Chālukya Vikramāditya VI in the Yedarāve inscription is said to have established his Chālukya era after abolishing the eras of Vikramāditya, Nanda and Śaka "Having said 'Why should the glory of the Kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?', he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (era) which has the Chālukya counting" ¹ Again, we have the definite datum that Alberuni found in use in his time an era with the initial year 458 B.C., which goes back to the time of the first Nanda king (Nanda Vardhana) ² The year 103 of the Nanda era would correspond to 355 B.C. when the Tanasulīya canal, which Khāravela extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated. If we take this Nanda to be the last Nanda, Khāravela would be referring to (325 B.C.—103=) c. 222 B.C. and not to any later year. But we have something more definite in the next datum, namely, the contemporaneity with Bahasatimītra. In line 12 Khāravela reaches the Sugamgīya palace, i.e., the famous Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra mentioned in the *Mudrārāshasa* ³ Bahasatimītra is expressly called the King of Magadha. Now we know from coins that Bahasatimītra and Agnimitra issued coins of the same type. This much we may take as certain that the time of Bahasatimītra, whosoever he may be, is the first half of the 2nd century B.C. ⁴ Āshādhasēna, who belonged to the royal family of Adhichchhatrā, describes himself as the maternal uncle of King Bahasatimītra in the Pabhosā inscription, ⁵ and Āshādhasēna dates his record in the 10th year of Odraka, ⁶ whom KPJ has identified with a king of the Śunga dynasty. Bahasatimītra's coins have been found at Kosam (Kausāmbī) ⁷ which was a state on the borders of Magadha. The characters of the coins agree with those of the Hāthīgumpha inscription ⁸ As Bahasatimītra does not occur in the list of the Mauryan kings and as his connection with the family of Odraka is indicated by the Pabhosā record, we are justified in taking him as one of the early Śungas before Odraka, the fifth king of the line. In other words, Khāravela's contemporary Bahasatimītra would belong to a period between 188 B.C. and c. 125 B.C. It is true that we do not find the name of Brihaspatimītra in the Śunga list. But we have the explanation given in the *Purāṇas* themselves. It is reported there that Pushyamitra made others rule, the *Vāyu* says that he made his 8 sons rule equally, i.e., with equal powers ⁹ We know that Agnimitra ruled at Vīḍiśā with a separate court of his own. Probably the 6th son was ruling in Kōśala as the Śunga inscription at Ayōdhya would suggest ¹⁰ It is significant that Pushyamitra is not called king in this record, but his title *Sēnāpati* is there just as it is in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Similarly the dating on the Bhārhut gate "in the reign of the Śungas" confirms the Purāṇic datum that several sons ruled at the same time (in different parts) under Pushyamitra. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* places in the imperial list (of Magadha) the sons of Agnimitra, and not Agnimitra himself, after Pushyamitra. As

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 477

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 237, 241, Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 5 to 7

³ Act III

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 525

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 242

⁶ *Ibid.* For Odraka as a proper name compare *Divyāvadāna*, p. 392.

⁷ *Ante*, p. 243 n. 17

⁸ V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 155,

⁹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 202, Vol. XIII, pp. 247 and 248

¹⁰ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247, 248 and p. 57 above

Brihaspatimitra is not in the royal list of Magadha between Agnimitra's sons and Odraka, we shall be justified in taking him to a period before Agnimitra's sons succeeded to the Magadha throne, i.e., to the time of Pushyamitra himself.¹

The most important contribution of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is the synchronism of Khāvela with the Indo-Greek king Demetrios. This important discovery was made in November 1919,² and it was settled that after the phrase *Yavana-rāja* comes the name Dīmīta.

Be. on I this name not a single succeeding word of the sentence can be read. Demetrios, son of Euthydemus I, is generally well-known as the conqueror of India. It is mentioned in a verse of Chaucer quoted nearly half a century ago by Cunningham. Strabo refers to the fact that the kingdom of Bactria had expanded in a remarkable way beyond its original limits and that the kings responsible for its enlargement were Demetrios and Menander.³ Beyond this nothing could be said about the Indian conquests of Demetrios before the discovery of the king's name in the Hāthīgumphā record. Justin calls him the king of the Indians. He was probably driven out of Bactria by a rival king named Eukratides and had to settle down in Afghānistān and India. The surest indication of his dominion over some part of India is the use of the Kharōṣṭhī script on some of his copper coins with the use of the title *Aparajita*.⁴ Unfortunately we do not know the exact date of Demetrios except through synchronisms. He conducted negotiations between his father Euthydemus I and Antiochus III of Syria and married the latter's daughter. Therefore he must have been a young man towards the close of the third century B.C. His Indian campaigns appear to have been undertaken when he had come to the throne in mature age, and his coins show that he was between 30 and 35 when his reign began.⁵ Numismatists distinguish two Demetrioses, taking Demetrios II to be the son of Demetrios I.⁶ It would be absurd to say that the Indian conquests of the first dynasty of the Bactro-Greek kings were made by Demetrios II. The Indian campaigns of Demetrios and his advance at Pātaliputra are distinctly described in *Yuga-Purāna* of the *Gārgī-saṃhitā*. The historical text of the work has been recently collected from different MSS by KPJ.⁷ Section 5 contains the account of the Greek invasion of Pātaliputra and a battle at that place. It is stated that after conquering Sākēta, Mathurā and Pañchāla the Greeks reached Kusumadhvaja, and at Pushpapura, i.e., Pātaliputra, there was a great battle fought on the mud-embedded western ramparts with engines (ballistae or catapultae), and the outlying districts became full of disorder. Further on (section 7) there is a mention of Demetrios as *Dharmamīta* where it is distinctly stated that his officers would oppress the people. Finally it is stated that intoxicated with fighting the Greeks would not stay in the Middle Country and that there would be a furious civil war among themselves in their own country. This statement is corroborated by the Greek accounts of the great civil war in Bactria and Afghānistān between Demetrios and his successors and Eukratides.

¹ The objection of Prof. Rapson (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 537, note) that there is an interval of 25 years between Pushyamitra and Odraka, and therefore Āśhādhaśena, the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra, cannot be connected with Bahasatimitra of Pabhosā has not much force in a country where people marry more than one wife at the same time and where maternal uncles are often found to be much younger than their nephews.

² It was announced by Sir Edward Gait in his presidential address to the Bihār and Orissa Research Society in 1920 (*J. E. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 5). The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri did not notice this discovery even in 1922-23. Cf. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 444-45.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 14, No. 28.

⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Plate III 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁷ *J. E. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 397-421 and Vol. XV pp. 129-133.

and the kings of the dynasty founded by him. Therefore his mention in the Hāthigumpha inscription proves definitely that Khāravela must have flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B C.

The compilation (*upādayati*) of the *Angas* is described in line 16 as the crowning act of glory of Khāravela. This was undertaken and completed in the 13th year. Learned Jainas from all over India were assembled in a conference (*saṃghayanam*), evidently on the Kumāri Hill of sacred associations, and they put together once more the scattered or lost sacred texts of Jainism. The Jaina tradition asserts that in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya a Jaina conference was held at Pāṭaliputra after the 12 years' famine was over but that no agreement could be reached as to the restoration of the texts. Khāravela's wide conquests from the Pāṇḍya country up to the North-Western Frontiers and from the Maṇḍarā country up to Magadha and his consequent political influence made it possible for him to have the texts recompiled. That the term '*Anga*' denotes the Jaina canonical *Angas* is proved by the adjective '*consisting of 64*' (*chōyathī*), which is a very difficult and mysterious expression. The Jaina tradition says that 64 letters make up the Jaina sacred literature. The Jainas at present give a mystic interpretation, vide Mr J. L. Jaini in his *Introduction to the Jīva-Khaṇḍa* of the *Gūmmatasāra* at p. 12. He says — "The knowledge of Śruti, Śruti-Jñāna, may be of things which are contained in the *Angas* (Limbs or sacred books of the Jainas) or of things outside the *Angas*. There are 64 simple letters of the alphabet. Of these 33 are consonants, 27 vowels and 4 auxiliary (which help in the formation of compound letters). The total number of possible combinations of these 64 simple letters into compounds of 2, 3, 4, or more up to 64 letters is: $2^{64} - 1 = 1,84,46,74,40,73,70,95,51,615$

"These are the letters (simple and compound) of Śruti in its entirety. This number being divided by 16,348,307,888, which is the number of letters in a central foot (*madhyamapada*) of the Paramūgama (Sacred Jaina Literature), gives us the number of padas of the *Angas* as 11,283, 58,005. The remainder 80,108,175 gives us the letters of that part of Śruti which is not contained in the *Angas*. This part is divided into 14 Prakīrnakas."

In our opinion the Jainas had an alphabet of 64 letters several of which were not actual letters but symbols.

One school of the Jainas maintains that only 11 *Angas* were recovered after the loss. If we read "*Anga-satīla-turiyam*" instead of "*Anga satīla(m) turiyam*" we may get the meaning that the recompiled *Angas* were in two groups, *Satīka* = *saptīka*, group of seven texts, and *Turiya* = *turiya*, a group of four texts. In any case the Jaina tradition about the loss and the recovery of the texts stands confirmed, and here we find another instance of the faithfulness of the Jaina tradition. The monks honoured at the Kumāri Hill in the 13th year were Śvētāmbaras as they were given pieces of China-cloth (silk) (*chīna-valāni* = *chīna-vastrāni*)¹ and white robes (*vāsa-nīlāni*). Khāravela, by his religious enterprise, was emulating Chandragupta and Aśoka. But posterity has completely forgotten him.

Fortunately the majority of the names of places mentioned in this record can be identified. Kalichganagarī is the ancient capital. Kalinga, a city which has now disappeared, lay close to Kalingapatanam, a place on the Bay of Bengal in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. Kaṣṭha-beruṇā is Kṛishṇa-verṇā² of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period and the modern Kṛishṇā Musika-nagaram was probably a city on the river Mūsi in its upper reaches near Gōlkonḍa-Hydrābād³.

¹ On the occurrence of *Chīna* in the *Arthasāstra* and its connection with *Shīna* the Gilgit tribe see '*Hindu Polity*,' I, 212, cf. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pt. 4, p. 5n.

² [The Kannapenna or Kannabanna of Pali literature.—Ed.]

³ The confluence of the *Mūsi* and the *Kṛishṇā* is mentioned in a copper plate, *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 206. [Muziris on the Malabar coast is suggested as a possible alternative.—R. D. B.]

As to the peoples mentioned in the inscription the Rathikas are probably the Mahārathis or the people of northern Mahārāshtra, i.e., the inhabitants of the modern districts of East Khāndesh, Nāsik, Ahmadnagar, Poona and the northern taluks of Sholāpur; the Bhojakas are likely the same as Mahābhōjas, i.e., the inhabitants of the Marāṭhi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berār.

The Tanasuliya or Tanasuliya-vāṭa cannot be identified by us. Vajiraghara remained under the same name till the 12th century A.D. when it is mentioned by Kulōttunga Chōla I or the Chālukya-Chōla Rājendra Chōla II, as Vayirāgara in the Tiruvorriyūr Ādhupurīśvara temple inscription of the second year. It states that Rājakēśarivarman alias Rājendra Chōla II captured elephants at this place and defeated the king of Dhārū at Chakrakōtta. In the Pāndava Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram another Tamil inscription of the 5th year of the same king, who is called Rājakēśarivarman alias Kulōttunga Chōla I, informs us that the king's victories at Vayirāgara and Chakrakōtta were gained while he was the heir-apparent, i.e., before 8th October 1070 A.D. Chakrakōtta has been correctly identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Chakra-Kotyā in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces. It is therefore certain that this Vayirāgara is the same as modern Wairagadh in the Chanda district of the same province. Kiehorn restored the name Vayirāgara as Vayrākara.¹ The form Vajiraghara in this record shows that the original form was Vajra griha or Vajra gadha in Prakrit which came to be written as Vayirāgarām in Tamil. Both Chakra-Kotyā and Wairagadh are on the road from Central Kalinga to Southern Mālwā. Goradhagiri is no doubt the ancient name of the Barābar Hills in the Gayā district, as proved by Mr. V. H. Jackson, I.E.S., the late principal of the Patna College who, along with Mr. Russell, discovered the inscriptions on boulders near the top, giving the name correctly as Gōrathagiri.² Mr. Jackson also described immense fortifications on the hill top.³ The place was an important outpost on the western flank of the ancient capital of Magadha, Girivraja or Rājagriha or Rājagaha. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata where the route of Bhīma and Kṛishna to Girivraja is described.⁴ Rājagriha or Rājagaha, the ancient capital of Magadha, still exists as Rājgir, famous as a Jaina Tīrtha and for its hot springs, in the Bihār sub-division of the Patna district of Bihār and Orissa.⁵ Madhura is undoubtedly the northern Mathurā in the United Provinces. Bharadhavasa (Skt. Bhāratavarsha) means the plains of Northern India. Pthumda is Ptolemy's Pitundra, a city which no longer exists, but which was an important port even in the first century A.D.⁶ Tamira or Tramira is equal to Dravida or Dramila, i.e., the Tamīlagam or the Tamil speaking districts of the Madras Presidency known as Damirke to classical writers. Utarāpadha is Sanskrit Uttarāpātha which included our North Western Frontier Province. Magadha is south western Bihār consisting of the modern districts of Patna, Gayā and the north-western Hazāribūgh, while Anga consisted of the portions of the districts of Bhūgalpur and Monghyr which lie to the south of the Ganges, adjoining Mazadha. The Pāmda-Rāja of this inscription refers to the kings of the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula from Madura to Cape Comorin.

We edit the inscription from the rock, the cast in the Patna Museum and from impressions taken by us as well as by the Curator of the Patna Museum.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VII, Apr. pp. 124-25, Nos. 756, 761. See also note 4 on p. 124.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 159.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 460.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 160 and 161.

⁵ For the antiquities of Rājgir see Marshall's account in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-06, Part II, pp. 86 ff.

⁶ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 151.

TEXT 1

- 1 [T]so s abholle] Namō Ar[ī]hamtinam[*] Namō sava Sīdhānam[*] Aireza³ Ma
hājara Māhāmeghavāhanena⁴ Cheti-rāja-vasa⁵-vadhanena pasattha-subha
bhānena chaturanta-luthita gun opalutena Kalimg-ādhīpatinā⁶ siri-Khāra-
velena
- 2 paṇḍita-saṁsāri siri kadhāra sariravātā⁷ kīditā kumāra-kīdikā[*] Tato
[p]aṇḍita-rāja⁸ ganana⁹-vavahāra¹⁰-vidhū¹¹ viśāradena sava vijāvadātēna nava-vasāni
Yerara¹² [t]i¹³ pasitām[*] Sampuna chatu-vīsati-vaso tadāni vadhamāna¹⁴.
sava Ven ābhivijayo¹⁵ tatiye
- 3 Kālīnga¹⁶ rāja-v[ā]so purisa yuge Māhārāj ābhisechanam¹⁷ pūpunāti[*] Abhi-
sāmito cha padhame¹⁸ vase[*] vāta vihita-gopura-pākāra-nivesanam pati-
[t]a [t]i¹⁹ [t]i²⁰ [*] Kalimga²¹-nagara Khībira ısı-tūla²²-tadūga-pāḍiyo²³ cha bam-
[t]a [t]i²⁴ [*] sava-māna paṭi[sam]thapanam cha
- 4 [t]i²⁵ [t]i²⁶ sava sata sahasāhi Pakatiyo cha ramjavati[*] Dutiye cha
[t]i²⁷ [t]i²⁸ Sātakaṁṇam²⁹ pachhuma disam hava gaja nara-radha-bahulam
[t]i³⁰ [t]i³¹ pati [t]i³² [t]i³³ [*] Kāṇha-bemaṇā³⁴ gatāya cha senāya vitāsitam
Mugāra ragaram³⁵ [*] Tatiye puna vase
- 5 [t]i³⁶ [t]i³⁷ budho dapa-mita gita vādita samdamānāhi usava-samāja-kārā-
[t]i³⁸ [t]i³⁹ cha kīḍipavati nazarim [*] Tathā chavutthe vase Vijādhara-
ādhīkaram ahata puvam Kalimga puvā⁴⁰-rāja-[nivesitam]
[t]i⁴¹ [t]i⁴² [t]i⁴³ [t]i⁴⁴ [t]i⁴⁵ cha nikhita-chhata-
- 6 [t]i⁴⁶ [t]i⁴⁷ sava ratana sīpatere sava-Pathuka Bhojake⁴⁸ pāde vamdāpayati[*]
[t]i⁴⁹ [t]i⁵⁰ cha dīni vase Namda rāja⁵¹ ti-vasa-sata-oghītita Tanasulīya-
[t]i⁵² [t]i⁵³ [t]i⁵⁴ Nagaram pavesā[ya]ti [*] So . . bhisito cha Rāja-s⁵⁵.
[t]i⁵⁶ [t]i⁵⁷ [t]i⁵⁸ sava kara-vanam
- 7 [t]i⁵⁹ [t]i⁶⁰ sava sata sahasāni vijayati Poram Jānapadam[*] Salāmam cha
[t]i⁶¹ [t]i⁶² [t]i⁶³ Vajiraghara-vati ghusita gharini sa matuka-pada-pumna . .
[t]i⁶⁴ [t]i⁶⁵ [*] Aṭhame cha vase mahatā senā
Goradhagirāhi
- 8 ghātāpayati Rājagaham upapīḍipayati[*] Etinā⁶⁶ cha kammāpadāna-sa[m]-
[t]i⁶⁷ [t]i⁶⁸ samb[ā]ta sena vāhane vipamu⁶⁹[m]chitu Madhuram apayāto Ya-
vanna rāj[ā] D[ā]mī[tā]⁷⁰ yachhati palava . .
- 9 [t]i⁷¹ [t]i⁷² haya gaja-radha-saha-yamte sava-ghar-āvāsa-parivasane oṇipathiyā⁷³
[t]i⁷⁴ [t]i⁷⁵ cha kārayitum Bambaṇānam jātīm parihāram dadāti[*]
Arahato [t]i⁷⁶ [g]i[ya]to
- 10 . . . kī māna[t]i[r]i[ya] samnivāsam Mahāvijayam pāsādam kārayati atha-
[t]i⁷⁷ [t]i⁷⁸ sata sahasāhi [*] Dasame cha vase damda-samdhi-sā[ma]-mayo Bha-
radhavasa pathānam mah[ā] jayanam kārāpayati
p[ā]tānam cha man[ā]-ratnāni upalabhate
- 11 [math]am] cha Ava⁷⁹-rāja nivesitam Pithumdam⁸⁰ gadabha-namgalena kasa-
yati janasa dabbhāvanam⁸¹ cha terasa vasa-satikam ābhī[m]dati T[r]amira⁸².
dorra samghātam[*] Bārasame cha vase hāsa ke [saha]-
eehi vitāsayati Utarāpadha-rājāno

(a) [The reading seems to be *janapada bhāraṇam* —Ed.]

- 12 M[a]gadhānam cha vipulam bhayam janeto hathi Sugamgiya[rh] pāya-
yati [, *] M[āga]dha[m]³⁶ cha rājūnam Baha[saj]timitani³⁷ pūde vaudā-
payati[*] Namda-rāja-nītam cha Kā[li]rnga Jinam³⁸ samiv[sa] .
[gaha] rata[nū]na[m] padihārehi³⁹ Amga-Magadha⁴⁰-vaum cha neyāti[*] .
- 13 katu[m] jathara l[i]khila barāni aiharāni nīcayati sata-
visikanam⁴¹ [pa]rihārehi[*] Abhutam-achharīyam cha hathi nīc[ā] pari-
saram⁴² . haya-hathi-ratanū [mānikam] Pamda⁴³-rājū [ch-edāni anekāni]
m[u]ta-manu ratanūni āharāpavati idha sa t[ā] .
- 14 sino vasikaroti[*] Ternasame cha vare supavata-
vijaya chaka Kumārī-pavate arahayate pa-khina sam[s]i⁴⁴ tchi Jāya nīdīyāya
yāpa-ñāvakehi⁴⁵ rāja bhitini china-vatāni vās[ū] s[i]tāni⁴⁶ [, *] pū ānurata-
uvās[aga Khā]ravola⁴⁷ sirinū jīva-deha [siri]kā pariklutū
- 15 sukat[ū]-samana-suvihitānam cha sata dīsānam nān[i]nam
tapas[i]-is[i]nam sainghayanam⁴⁸ [, *] Arahata nīdīyū samīpo pūbhāre var ā-
kāra-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojan ālūtāhi pa si o silihi Simha
patha-rañi-Si[m]dhulāya⁴⁹ nīsayāni
- 16 Patalako chaturo cha vedūriya gabhe thaumbhe patihū-
payati[, *] pānatarīya sata sabaso⁵⁰ [hi][, *] Muiya-kāla-vochinam cha
choyath[i] Amga-satika[m] turīyam upādāyati[*] Khema rājā sa Vadha-
rājā sa Bhikhu-rājā Dhama-rājā pasamt[o] sunat[o] anubhavat[o] kalā-
ñāni
- 17 guna-vīsesa-kusalo sava-pāsanda-pūjako sava de[v-ūya]tana-
samkhāra-kārako [a]patihata chaka-vāhini balo chaka dhura guta chako pavata-
chako rājasī-Vasū-kula⁵¹-vīśrīto⁵² mahā-vijayo Rājā-Khāravola-siri[, *]
[Symbol].

NOTES ON THE TEXT

- 1 For facsimile plates see *J B O R S*, Vols III, IV and XIII
2. [The reading *Arī°* was corrected from *Arā°* after Mr Banerji's death, with the help of Mum Jinavijaya — K P J]
- 3 *Arena* is the equivalent of *Ailena*, meaning a descendant of Ila or Ilā, father or mother of Purūravas. The same title is also to be found in the Mañchapuri Cave inscription of Kūde-pasiri¹. For the change of *l* into *r* see *T[r]amira* in line 11 below. [In connection with this title the description in the last line *rājasī-Vasū-kula-vīśrīto* may be noted. The Purānic tradition of *Rājarsī* as well as of the Aila dynasty was thus well-established before Khāravola's time. — K P J]
4. *Māhāmēghavāhana* — Probably the reading in the Mañchapuri inscription is also *Māhā-mēghavāhana* and not *Mahāmēghavāhana*. The long vowel over the first syllable *Mā°* is quite clear in this inscription. The increase in the strength of the vowel indicates that King Khāravola was a descendant of Mahāmēghavāhana, who might have been the recent founder of the dynasty.
- 5 *Cheti-rāja-vasa*. — Evidently *Cheti* is the same as *Chēdi*. The later Chēdis, Kaṣachuris or Hahayas of Dābhāla or Dāhala were in occupation of modern Baghelkhand and Chhattīsgaḍh in the mediæval period. Before that in the 7th century the Kaṣachuris Śaṅkaragupta and Bud-dharīya were in possession of Mālwa and the Northern Mahārāshtra until their conquest by the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The Buddhist books mention *Chēti* as one of the sixteen great king-doms or nations of Northern India². In the dynastic lists given in the *Purānas*, the Hahayas

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p 180² Cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p 38.³ Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 172

are a branch of the Yādavas¹ The origin of the Chēdis is thus stated by Pargiter Vidarbha of the Yādava clan had three sons named Bhīma Kratha, Kaiśika and Lōmapāda Kaiśika's son Chēdi founded the dynasty of Chaidya kings in Chēdi² From Chēdi the name of the clan as well as that of the country became Chēdi In the Buddhist books Chēti is placed between Mallā and Vamsa indicating that the kingdom lay close to Kauśāmbī in the Allahābād district, and it is very likely that modern Baghelkhand was originally called Chēdi. (Vasu, from whose line Khāravela's family descended (l 17) was however, not a Chaidya, but the conqueror of the Chēdi country He was fifth in descent from Kuru who was the 72nd Aila (J. R. A. S., 1910, pp 22-26-29) The *Jama Harivamsa-Purāna* also includes Vasu in the Ailāra list and as the son of the founder of *Chāṣṭi-rāṣṭra* in the *Yindhya*s (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XV p 277) —K. P. J.]

6. *Kalinga-ādhipatinā* —The term Kalinga is usually applied to the northern part of the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency In the *Purānas*, Kalinga is associated with Anga (south-eastern Bihār), Vanga (eastern Bengal), Pundra (northern Bengal) and Suhma (south-western Bengal) The names of these five countries were given according to the names of the five sons of Bali,³ i.e., the tradition treats the kingdoms to be early Aryan conquests and states. In the *Tāyū* and the *Brahmānda-Purānas* Kalinga is associated with the Mahishā country⁴ (later Māhishmatī, modern Maheswar in the Indore State on the river Narmadā) This text would indicate that Utkala was included in Kalinga in the time of Khāravela and the later name Ōdra had not come into existence The Purānic texts further indicate that the term Utkala was applied in early times to the hilly country between Gayā and Orissa, i.e., modern Chhotā Nāgpur and the Garhjat States 'The Saudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans which occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa'⁵ The transfer of the term Utkala to the plain country along the sea-board is therefore later.

7 *Siri-ladāra-sarīra-latā* —*Kadūra* means reddish fair, according to *Amara*, and a slave according to the *Mēdinī* If it is a Prakrit derivation from *latāra*, then it means "nāgarah or lāmin," according to the *Sablamālā* (*Vāchaspathyam*) The explanation given in the *Amara-Lōsha* is more suitable as meaning "of beautiful reddish body"

8 *Lelha* or Royal Correspondence, a manual of which was written in the time of the Chālukyas of Anahilapātana and has been published from Baroda⁶ This *lēha* cannot refer to the art of writing The subject is dealt with in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya⁷

9 *Rūpa* must be the equivalent of *rūpya* meaning currency In the present inscription the position of the word *rūpa* shows that the meaning cannot be anything else⁸ The exact meaning of the term is made clear by the explanation of Buddhaghōṣa on a passage of the *Mahāvagga* The term is explained thus: "he who learns the *rūpa-sūtra* must turn over and over many *Kārshāpanas*"⁹ Finally, the term *rūpa-darśana* in the *Arthaśāstra* translated as "Examiner of Coins" shows that the term *rūpa* was used in cases as in the present inscription with

¹ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p 102

² *Ibid*, p 272.

³ *Ibid*, p 109

⁴ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 54

⁵ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p 292

⁶ *Lēha-paddhati*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p 58

⁷ Mysore edn. (1919), pp 70-75

⁸ It is impossible to imagine that the prince learned acting We can compare the word *lupulakhe* in the Jōgimārā cave inscription where also it may mean a currency officer The term is also taken to mean a City Magistrate who could recognise offenders at a glance *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04, pp 128-30 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p 131

⁹ *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII, p 201 note.

reference to currency The term did not refer to silver currency alone but to other metals also, as we find the term *tāmra-rūpa* in the *Arthaśāstra* ¹

10 *Gananā*—This term occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* and has been translated as Accountancy. An entire chapter has been devoted to it there and the subject is explained in detail. It is certain that this term could not have been used for elementary mathematics in this inscription as supposed by Bühler Knowledge of *lākha*, *rūpa*, and *gananā* is here coupled with that of law and learning and refers to a post-boyhood period

11 *Vavahāra*—*Vyavahāra* meaning Civil Law or Municipal Law as opposed to—

12 *Vidhi* or Religious Law which is mentioned in Sanskrit legal literature as positive injunctions

13 *Yovarajam*=*Yauvarājyam*—*Yōvarajam* shows the shortening of the internal medial vowel in the second member and the graphic lightening of double consonant, as in the case of *Māhārāja*° (l 3), *rañi* (l 15), etc

14 *vardhamāna-sesayo*—Though the incision of these two words is perfectly clear they cannot be satisfactorily explained by us The equation *vardhamāna-śaśavā* is not quite satisfactory as a change of *v* into *y* is not to be had anywhere else in this record The meaning proposed in the translation is adopted for want of a better one There may be a pun intended by the use of the word *vardhamāna* which is the early name of the last Tirthankara The verb *pāpūnāti*=*prāpñōti* shows that the sentence is in the active voice and complete by itself After this line the forms are generally causative

15 *Ven-ābhivṛjaya*—The reading is perfectly clear The ancient monarch *Vēna*, father of *Prithu*, was an unorthodox king according to Brāhmanical literature According to the *Padma-Purāna* he began his reign well but subsequently became a Jain He abolished the law of levirate (*nyūga*) and caused a confusion or abolition of castes, according to *Manu* ² *Vēna* was a great conqueror and therefore the term *ābhivṛjaya* is very appropriate in his case Evidently the tradition recorded in the *Padma-Purāna* was well-established in the time of *Khāravela* and therefore the Jain monarch is compared to *Vēna*

16 *Kalīṅga-rāja-va[m]se*—In the third line the details about *Khāravela*'s ancestry are made clear He was born in the royal line of *Chēti* and was the overlord of *Kalīṅga*, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the 3rd dynasty of the kings of *Kalīṅga* This dynasty was one of the *Aśla* dynasties settled in Central and Southern India The name *Khāravela* (probably, 'one whose waves are brackish'=the Ocean) is unusual, and so is the name of the other king of the dynasty, viz, *Kūdepa* (*Mañchapuri* inscription) *Khāravela* is described to be an *Aśla* or *Aśla*, that is, of the Lunar House as opposed to the Solar *Pargiter* holds that the kings of the *Aśla* stock held the Ganges and the Jumna valleys from the *Siwālik Hills* to *Magadha*, the country between the *Rājputāna* desert and the *Beiār*, with the *Pañjāb* and *Peshāwar* in the north and East *Bibār* and *Bengal* proper in the east The town and country of *Vidarbha* is generally recognised to be the modern *Berār*

17 *Māhārāj-ābhisechanam*—The regular *ābhishēka* of a *Chakravartin* Monarch (called the *Andra-mahābhishēka* in the *Satapatha* and *Aitarēya Brāhmanas*) ³

18 *Padhame*—In this dialect *tha* becomes *dha* in the majority of cases, e.g., *Goradha*=*Goratha*, *rañha*=*rañha*, *Bharadhavasa*=*Bharadhavasa* and *Madhuram* for *Mathuram*. The change is well-known and probably it is an influence of Dravidian origin ⁴

¹ Text p 84, Engl trans, p 95 (Dr Shamasastri's edition)

² *Mānavadharmasāstra*, Ch IX, vv 66 67

³ *Jayaswal, Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, p. 27.

⁴ [This peculiarity is found in *Jaina-Saurasēni*, *Saurasēni*, *Māgadhi* and *Dhakkī*. See *Pischel, Gramma der Prakrit Sprachen*, para 203.—Ed.]

19 *Kalīnga-nagari*—The capital of the Kalīnga country, very likely now represented by Kalīngapatanam in the Ganjām district. The ancient capital of Kalīnga, according to the tradition prevalent in the Chicacole *taluk* of the Ganjām district, was swallowed up by the sea. Fragments of bas-reliefs of the Maurya period with the well-known protuberance on the head-dress have been, however, discovered by RDB in the temples of Mukhabāṅgēvara and Kūrmēvara in the locality. The coast from Chhatrapuram to Masulipatam is subject to great cyclones during the north-eastern monsoon and the majority of ancient sites on this coast are buried in drift sand.

20 *Khibīra-isi-lāla*—We have examined these two words very carefully on the rock, estampages and casts. The reading is perfectly clear but no explanation seems to be possible unless Khibīra is taken to be a proper name of a Rishi who excavated the tank or lake or after whom it was named. In that case, the phrase will have to be taken as referring to a particular tank while *taḍḍa* and *pāḍiyo* will refer to artificial excavations.

21 *Pāḍiyo*=Skt *Pālīh*—Perhaps the same as the *Podhiya* of Western India, cf *Pāndulēna* cave No 10, inscription No 10, l 3.¹

22 *Sātalamnīm*—Evidently Śrī Sātākarni, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, (the husband of queen Nāyanikā of the Nānāghāt inscriptions in the Junnar *taluk* of the Poona district.² [As to the Sātākarni whose architect Vāsēthiputra Ānanda gave a *lōrana* to *stūpa* No 1 at Sāñchi see *J B O R S*, XVI, p 254—K P J]

23 *Kaṇha-bemnā*—the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇavēnī or the modern Kṛṣṇā which rises near Dhoni in the Sātārā district. The river flows through the Sātārā, Belgaum and Bijāpur districts and the Kolhāpur and Hyderābād States into the Bay of Bengal through the Kṛṣṇā district of the Madras Presidency. It forms the boundary of the Nizām's State from Alampur near Karnūl to Nandigāma in the Kṛstna district. The rise of the Kṛṣṇā and its particular sanctity are described in the *Pūtāla-lhanda* of the *Padmapurāna*.³ The earliest epigraphical reference is to be found in this inscription and the second in the Nāsik inscription in cave No 10 of the Pāndulēnā group where it is called *Karabenā*.⁴ In mediæval inscriptions it is called *Kṛṣṇa-Vēnnā*.⁵ There is no doubt about the fact that Khāravēla reached the Kṛṣṇā somewhere in the long and erratic course of that river. It is possible that he went westwards because the term *pachhīma-dīsam* is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the Kṛṣṇā.

24 *Musika-nagara*—The Mūshikas are a people of Southern India as in the *Mahābhārata* they are mentioned along with the Vanavāsas.⁶ In the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata they are probably coupled with the *Tōḷalas* and the *Kōśalas* under the name *Mōśalas*.⁷ In the *Viṣṇu-Purāna* the Mūsika country comes with the *Strī-rājya*. According to the commentary *Jaya-mangalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the latter was a kingdom in the western part of the Vindhya country.⁸ There is a river Mūsī which joins the Kṛṣṇā about the Nalgonda and the Kṛṣṇā districts. It is mentioned under the same name in the inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p 78

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, plate 3. As to the letter-form of this inscription reference may be made to the *Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghāt Inscriptions*, *Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp 131 ff PDB. has proved elsewhere that later and earlier forms of the character used in an inscription depend in the first place on locality.

³ Ānandāśrama edition (1894), pt. 4, VI, 113, p 1467

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p 211

⁵ XIII, 27 (*Kāvya-mālā* edition, p 148)

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p 78

⁷ *Bhīṣma-parvan*, Ch. IX

⁸ *Sub Kāma-sūtra*, II, 5, 27.

Śōvinda II of the Śāla year 692=769 A D ¹ It is quite probable that the Musika city stood on this river ²

25 *Kaṁga-pura rāja*—The reading is absolutely certain and the phrase should be read with reference to *tatīye Kaṁga-rāja vamsa*

26 *Rathika-Bhojake* stand for the Mahārathis and Mahābhōjas of Sātavāhana inscriptions and the minor inscriptions of the same period at Kānhērī, Kudā and Bēdsā The Rathikas are mentioned as *Ristikas* in the Gūnār, *Rathikas* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and *Rathakas* in the Mānschrā version of the 5th edict of Aśōka The Dhauh version supplies the analogous form in *Iathika* In the 13th edict we find the *Bhojakas* mentioned with the *Putnalas* in Shāhbāzgaṛhī, Mānschrā and Kālī versions In the Kānhērī cave inscription of the time of Vinhukada Chutukulānanda a Mahābhōja is also called a *Mahārāja* showing that Bhoja probably was a title Mahābhōjas or Mahābhōjis are mentioned in five votive inscriptions in the Kudā cave In later periods a Bhojaka is mentioned in the copper plate inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman ³

27 *Nanda-rāja*—King Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in l 6 and again in l 12 The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by King Nanda ⁴ His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty

28 *Rājasūyam*—The reading is perfectly clear on the rock

29 *saṁnādena*—The form of the first letter seems to be a *sa* of the same type as that which we find in *Bahasatīmatam* in l 12

30 *vipamuchitu*—It seems more probable that the reading is *vipamu[m²]chitu* not *vipamuchitum*.

31 *Yavana-rāja Dīmīta*—The word *Yavana-rāja* was read by KPJ for the first time in 1919 After that the second syllable of the proper name is distinct The first and the third can be read with great difficulty KPJ proposed to read the first syllable as *Di* but RDB proposed that it is *Di* in which the broad back of the letter is turned towards the right and not the left In Aśōka's inscriptions both varieties are found but in this inscription the other variety, with the broad back to the proper left, is used in all other cases. The Greek King Demetrios calls himself Dime[tra] in his Kharōṣṭhī coin legends ⁵

32 *agnīnathayā*—The reading is certain and legible on the rock only The decay of the stone makes good impressions impossible Both of us have examined the place carefully and repeatedly The meaning of the term is also uncertain It may mean some form of Vedic sacrifice and the original form in Sanskrit might have been *Agn-īshṭi* What had been read as *sa* before this word is uncertain

33 *Ava rāja* was previously read as *pūva-rāja* It appears that that particular form of *a* in which the left lower curve is much shorter than the upper is also used in this inscription. Therefore the shorter arm of the long *u* may be taken to be the lower left curve of *a* *Aīa* as a dynasty is given by the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, and the *Vishnu* equates it with the *Āndhras* Ptolemy

¹ *Ante*, Vol VI, pp 203 13

² I am of opinion that Kharavela reached the Mahārāṣṭra country and touched the river Kṛṣṇā near its source where it flows directly north to south instead of touching it at any other place, because to reach the Kṛṣṇā at any other place he would have had to travel almost due south instead of west Moreover, I put more reliance on the *Mahābhārata* than on any of the later texts As the Musikas are coupled with the Vanavāsikas it is more probable that they lived on the western coast below Banavāsī (Sirsī taluk of the North Kanara district of Bombay) In my opinion Murūras, a famous port on the western coast, should be identified with Musikanagara of this inscription (R D B) [See *J R A S*, 1922, pp 165 ff, and *Ind. Ant*, 1923, p 138—Ed.]

³ See also *Hindu Polity*, Pt 1, pp 143, 195

⁴ See *J B O R S*, Vol XIII, p 237

⁵ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol I, p 14, No 26

mentions a people called *Aiarni* or *Aruarni* near the Krishnā. It is quite possible that the city of Pithumda mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitundra (*Ind Ant*, Vol LV, p 145), was founded by these people (*J B O R S*, Vol XIV, pp 15 f)

34 *Pithumda*—According to Ptolemy, a city in the upper part of the Coromandal coast. This city has perhaps to be taken as the capital of the Ava or *Aiarni*.

35 *Tramira* or *Tamira* is the equivalent of *Tamila* just as *Aira* represents *Aila*. It has been pointed out that *Tamila* is the origin of *Drāvida* and of *Dramila*.¹ *Tramila* would thus be a perfectly correct substitute for *Dramila*.

36 *Mūgadham*—We have examined the rock very carefully. The cast of the inscription in the Patna Museum shows that the word cannot be *Muriga* as proposed by Dr F W Thomas.² The chisel-cuts of the letters are still clear though the decay of the rock surface has made impressions of this part of the inscription smudged.

37 *Bahasatimitam*—The *sa* in the word is of the later 2nd century B C type in which a clear right-angle has been formed in the right limb of the letter and therefore it looks more like *pa* than *sa*. The reading is absolutely certain.

38 *Kālmga-Jina* perhaps means Sitalanātha who was born at Bhadalapura, which is the same as Bhadrapura³ or Bhadrāchalam in the Gōdāvarī district of the Madras Presidency.

39 *padihārehi* stands for *pratihārāhi*—The *da* denotes its difference from *parihāra* in l 9.

40 *Anja-Magadha*—The mention of these two provinces indicates that the campaign of the 12th year was specially directed against South Bihār which now includes the ancient provinces of Anga (Bhāgalpur and Monghyr districts) and Magadha (Patna, Gayā and part of Hazāribāgh districts).

41 *sata-visikanam*—The reading is not doubtful though it was read slightly differently before. The reference seems to be to architects (*varismikas*).

42 *halhi-nivāsa-parisaram*—This reading of the second word of the phrase is more reliable than the previous one (*halhi-nāvana-paripuran*). *nivāsa*=*nirvāsa*.⁴ The reference seems to be to elephant preserves or some original form of *lhedā* arrangement, invented by Khāravela. The elephants of Kalinga were very famous in ancient India. The strength of Khāravela probably lay in elephants. He took the fort of Pātaliputra with the help of elephants.

43 *Pāmda-rājā*—For the form of *rañi* in l 15. The Sanskritized version of the name of the great Dravidian clan is Pāndya and is derived from Pāndu by a special rule of early grammarians. In the inscriptions of Asōka also the vowel in the first syllable is long.

44 *Pa-lhina-samsatehi*—The reading seems to be tolerably certain on the rock, though it looks doubtful in the impressions. *Pa-lhina*=*prakhina*, *samsate*=*samsati*.⁵

45 *Yāpa-navakehi*—The first part of the compound cannot be satisfactorily explained by us though the reading is absolutely certain.⁶

46 *vāsā-sitāni*—The medial vowels except that on the first syllable are somewhat uncertain. It may also be taken to be *-satāni*. It was previously read as *vasāsītāni*.

47 *Uvāsaga-Khāravela* previously read as *Uvāsa-Khāravela*. The *ga* and *khd* are indistinct.

48 *samghayanam*—The reading is certain except of the vowel value on *gh*. Certain improvements have been effected, e.g., *ñannam* which makes the purport of this term fairly certain.

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XLIII, p 64.

² *Ind. Ant*, Vol II, p 136.

³ [See Munī Punyariyaya, 'Anekaṇṭa' (Delhi), Vol I, p 142, where he cites Jaina texts on 'vapa' ('religious life')—K P J.]

⁴ *J R A S*, 1922, p 84.

⁵ Cf. Kumandakiya nīṭṭara, XV, 7.

49 *Simdhulāya* —The recognition of the cerebral *la* is due to a suggestion of Prof H Lüders. In other cases the cerebral *la* is changed into *ra* in the dialect used in this inscription

50 *sata-sahasah* —This reading was fully established by us when we examined the rock jointly in November 1919 This reading along with the reading of the passage *Amga*°, etc brings to a close the long controversy about the existence of a date in the Maurya era in this inscription

51 [The reading *Rājasī-Vasū-kula*° has been corrected by me (from *-vasa-kula*) after Mr Banerji's death King Vasu of Chēdi is known to the *Purānas* (see *J R A S*, 1910, p 22, *MBh*, I ch 43) *Cheti-rā*°, in l 1 refers to King Vasu The inscription here confirms the Purānic genealogy The Jaina *Harivamśa Purāna* also gives Vasu in the Chēdi list (Ch. VII) and as an Ailāva *J B O R S*, Vol XV, p 277 —K P J]

52. *vinērito* —This is the only instance of the use of the palatal *śa* in this record. The form is certain both on the rock and impressions

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Salutation to the Arhats (*Arhats*=lit 'Conquerors of Enemies,' i.e., Jinas) Salutation to all the Siddhas By illustrious Khāravela, the Aira (*Aila*), the Great King, the descendant of Mahāmāghavāhana, the increaser (of the glory) of the Cheti (Chēdi) dynasty, (endowed) with excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached (the ends of) the four quarters, overlord¹ of Kalinga,

(L 2) for fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome were played youthsomeness sports, after that (by him who) had mastered (royal) correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws (and) who had become well-versed in all (branches) of learning, for nine years (the office of) *Yuvarāja*² (heir apparent) was administered Having completed the twenty-fourth year,³ at that time, (he) who had been prosperous (*vardhamāna*) since his infancy (?) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Vena,

(L 3) then in the state of manhood,⁴ obtains the imperial (*māhārājya*) coronation in the dynasty of Kalinga As soon as he is anointed, in the first (regnal) year (he) causes repairs of the gates, the walls and the buildings (of the city), (which had been) damaged by storm, in the city of Kalinga (he) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibira Rishi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns, (also) the restoration of all the gardens (he) causes to be

(L 4) done at (the cost of) thirty-five-hundred-thousands,⁵ and (he) gratifies the People And in the second year (he), disregarding *Sātakanni*, despatches to the western regions an

¹ In *Kaling ādhipati*, *ādhipati* like *ādhirāja* of the inscriptions, would literally denote an 'overlord' The chief queen of Khāravela in the Mañchapuri record calls her husband a Kalinga emperor (*Kalinga-chakavati*) In our record he is expressly described as belonging to the Kalinga dynasty The expression 'overlord' would not indicate that he was the overlord of Kalinga, but an overlord or an emperor belonging to Kalinga

² A member of the ministry (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp 124, 136). According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Samprati, i. grandson of Aśoka, was the *yuvarāja*, while his father Kupāla was a viceroy at Takshasilā *Yuvarāja* was generally, but not necessarily, the Crown Prince.

³ Evidently the throne had been vacant and Khāravela ascended it after completing his 24th year. According to the *Bṛhaspati sūtra*, for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 25th year and after that age, politics

⁴ *Purisa yuge* —This has a reference to the 25th year, see the note above.

⁵ The meaning given above is in consonance with the use of similar figures in lines 10 and 16 (*Mahāvijayaṇa pāṇḍitaṃ kūrāyati aṭṭhaśāyā sata-sahasah*, and *pāṇḍitaṃ, etc*) The instrumental case before *palatiyo* may equally be taken to denote the number of the subjects (see *Siddhāntakāumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita on Pāṇini, II, 3, 23, and II, 3, 46). RDB would connect the figure with the sentence beginning with *palatiyo* in the sense that by the expenditure indicated by the figure the king pleased his subjects (see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p 315).

army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*ratha*) and by that army having reached the Kañha-bemñā, he throws the city of the Musikas into consternation Again in the third year,

(L 5) (*he*) versed in the science of the Gandharvas (*i e*, music), entertains the capital with the exhibition of *dapa*,¹ dancing, singing and instrumental music and by causing to be held festivities and assemblies (*samājas*),² similarly in the fourth year, 'the Abode of Vidyā-dharas' built by the former Kalingan king(s), which had not been damaged before
...with their coronets³ rendered meaningless, with their helmets (?) (*bilma*)⁴ cut in twain (?), and with their umbrellas and

(L 6) *bhīṅgāras* cast away,⁵ deprived of their jewels (*i e*, *ratana*, Skt *ratna*, precious objects) all the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas (*he*) causes to bow down at his feet Now in the fifth year he brings into the capital from the road of Tanasuliyā⁶ the canal excavated in the year one hundred-and-three of King Nanda⁷ Having been (*re*-) anointed (*he while*) celebrating the Rājasūya, remits all tithes and cesses,

(L 7) bestows many privileges⁸ (*amounting to*) hundreds of thousands or the City-Corporation⁹ and the Realm-Corporation¹⁰ In the seventh year of his reign, his famous wife of Vajiraghara¹¹ obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood Then in the eighth year, (*he*) with a large army having sacked Goradhagiri

(L 8) causes pressure¹² on Rājagaha (Rājagriha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dimu[ta] retreated to Mathurā having extricated his demoralised army and transport (*He*) gives ... with foliage

¹ In Sindhi this term is found in modern vernacular applied to a village-performance by a row of men who move on cutting antics *Drava* in Sanskrit, meaning a dance, is connected with motion or running.

² On its meaning as a theatrical performance, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XLVIII, p 235

³ (*Makuta*)—Crowns or coronets according to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (XXI, 118) The *Rāṭhikas* and *Bhojakas* were non monarchical communities (*Hindu Polity*, Vol I, p 89)

⁴ *Bilma* in the *Yajur veda*, XVI, 35, comes in the company of *karacha* (coat-of-mail or breast-plate)

⁵ *Bhīṅgāra* which was made of gold, formed part of a ruler's paraphernalia according to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (XXI, 138) So did the *chhatra* or umbrella

⁶ *Tanasuliyā-vāṭā* means 'from the road of Tanasuli' or it might have been the name of the canal *Vāṭā* also means an enclosure.

⁷ The opinion of Lüders (List No 1345) and Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol I, p 26) is in favour of interpreting *traya-vīta* as 103 years and not 300 years This is acceptable in preference to 300 on considerations of chronological and historical data of the inscription discussed elsewhere (*J B O. R S*, Vol XIII, pp 237-238) Such uses of numbers are not unknown in Vedic Sanskrit. The natural explanation is 'the year one hundred and three of King Nanda'. On a Nanda era, see Yedarāve inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Pt II, p 43) and on an era beginning in 458 B C current in the time of Alberuni, the discussion on the subject in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol XIII, pp 237-241)

⁸ *Anugaha*—Consult *Hindu Polity*, II, 93, *Kautilya Artha-śāstra*, 13, XIII, 171

⁹ *Pora* = *Paura*—See the discussion on the subject in *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch 27, and the next note below.

¹⁰ *Jānapada*—The discussion in the *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch. 27, sets out the materials The question of identification of *Jānapada* as a corporate body is now put beyond controversy by the seal discovered at Nālandā which reads *Purikā-grāma-jānapadasya* 'of the Jānapada of the Purikā village'. This seal is in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century [I am publishing it in my article on 'Some Clay Seals of Nālandā'-Ed.] Probably the central *Jānapada* was made up of the representatives of local *Jānapadas* In the Hāthīgumpha inscription we have *Jānapada* in the singular, that is, it refers to one (general) *Jānapada*

¹¹ It is an ancient royal mannerism to refer to different queens by the name of the country of their origin of., Kausalyā, Kaikēyī, etc. The custom still continues in the present ruling families where *rānīs* are so referred to For instance, a princess of the Udaipur family, if married in the Jodhpur family, would be styled *Sisōdhi mahal*

¹² *Upapīḍāpayati* means presses down, inflicts pain (*Manu*, VI, 62, XII, 80) With the meaning 'devastating, laying waste', which the dictionaries give, the word may mean 'he sacks', but as it is contrasted with *ghātāpṛyati* ('sacked') we take it that Khāravela only laid siege to the fortress of Rājagriha.

(L 9) Kalpa¹ (wish-fulfilling) trees, elephants, chariots with their drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses And to make all these acceptable (he) gives at a fire sacrifice (?) exemption (from taxes) to the caste of Brāhmanas Of Arhat...

(L 10) (He) causes to be built a royal residence (called) the Palace of Great Victory (*Mahāvijaya*) at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousands And in the tenth year (he), following (the three-fold policy) of chastisement, alliance and conciliation sends out an expedition against Bharatavasa (and) brings about the conquest of the land (or, country) and obtains jewels and precious things of the (kings) attacked

(L 11) ... And the market-town (?) Pithumda² founded by the Ava King he ploughs down with a plough of asses,³ and (he) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy⁴ of the T[ra]jamira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteen years,⁵ which has been a source of danger⁶ to (his) Country (Janapada) And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the Utarāpatha⁷ with ... thousands of

(L 12) And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (he) drives (his) elephants into the Sugamgiya⁸ (Palace), and (he) makes the King of Magadha, Bahasatimita, bow at his feet And (he) sets up⁹ (the image) 'the Jina of Kalinga' which had been taken away by King Nanda and causes to be brought home the riches of Amga and Magadha along with the keepers of the family jewels of

(L 13) (He) builds excellent towers with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred mansions, giving them exemption from land revenue And a wonderful and marvellous enclosure of stockade¹⁰ for driving in the elephants (he) and horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (he) causes to be brought here from the Pāndya King.

(L 14) ... (he) subjugates In the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī Hill where the Wheel of Conquest had been well-revolved¹¹ (i.e., the religion of Jina had been

¹ Giving of Kalpa trees was one of the *Mahādānas* or great gifts according to Hēmadri (*Chaturvarga-chintā-maṇi, dāna khaṇḍa*) The tree was made of solid gold

² *Prithu-ṇḍa* 'the big egg', probably had its origin in the physical feature of the situation of the city

³ In the Jaina book *Āvasyakavṛtti*, Hārībhadri, (pp 885 87) and Hēmachandra's *Vīracaritra* (pp 170 71) it is stated that Koṇika ploughed Vaiṣālī with ploughs drawn by asses (*J B O R S*, Vol XIII, p 231n.)

⁴ *saṃghāta*—According to Pāṇini (III, 3, 76, 86, V 1, 59. and *Hindu Polity*, I, p 27) the form should be here *saṅgha* and not *saṃghāta* Evidently this distinction of Sanskrit grammar is not followed by Jaina writers of the time and the regular form *saṃghāta* is used probably owing to the religious significance already attaching to the term *saṅgha* amongst them.

⁵ *Teraśa-vasa-satīkam*.—We take it to mean 113 years, not 1,300 years old in conformity with the interpretation of *ti-vasa-satīka* above

⁶ [*Bharana*=Skt *bhāpana* (cf. '*bhāpayate*' in the *Siddhāntaśaṣṭī* on Pāṇ^o 1, 3, 68). I am adopting the former reading *janapada*. The other reading will also yield nearly the same meaning.—N. P. J.]

⁷ As the record distinguishes *Utarāpatha* from *Bharatavasa* it should be taken to refer to that part of the country of which Takshashīlā was the capital as in the *Divyāvadāna* (p 407) Cf., *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 94

⁸ *Sugāṅga* Palace is mentioned in the *Mudrārākhana* (Act III) as the palace of Chandragupta Maurya. This must have been near or on the Ganges Khāravela's entry by means of elephants implies that it was a fortified palace

⁹ *saṃnivṛta* .., probably *saṃnivṛtāyati*, "sets up an image" *Samnivṛta* in the sense of an image is mentioned in the dictionaries The image called the Kālinga Jina was set up by Khāravela. This image had been taken away by King Nanda There is no doubt about the reading of the text and the translation of *Nanda-rāja-nīlām*.

¹⁰ *śiṣya-parisaraṇa* = *nivṛta-parisaram*. Compare the *Kāmandakiya* on *nivṛta* of elephants (XV, 7) *parisara* is enclosure or stockade

¹¹ *suparata-vijaya-chakra* Skt *supravṛtta-vijaya-chakra*, cf. *pavata-chakra* in I 17, *vyaya-chakra*, 'the wheel of conquest' Evidently this was a term common to Buddhism and Jainism That Varddhamaṇa Mahāvira preached Jainism in Kālīṅga is attested by the tradition contained in Jaina literature (*J. B. O. R. S*, Vol XIII, p 223). The *Hārībhadriya-vṛtti* says that Mahāvira went to Kālīṅga where his father's friend was ruling.

preached), (he) offers respectfully¹ royal maintenances, China clothes² (*silk*s) and white clothes³ to (the monks) who (by their austerities) have extinguished the round of lives,⁴ the preachers⁵ on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial⁶. By Khāravela, the illustrious, as a layman devoted to worship, is realised (the nature of) *jīva* and *dēha*⁷

(L 15) . . . bringing about a Council⁸ of the wise ascetics and sages, from hundred (i.e., all) quarters, the monks (*samanas*) of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunctions) near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the top of the hill,⁹ with stones brought from many miles (*yojanas*) quarried from excellent mines (he builds) shelters¹⁰ for the Simhapatha Queen Sindhula.

(L 16) Patalaka^(?) . . (he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl. . . at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands, (he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the seven-fold *Amgas*¹¹ of the sixty-four¹² (letters). He is the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (*bhikṣus*), the King of Religion (*Dharma*), who has been seeing, hearing and realising blessings (*lalyānas*)—

(L 17) accomplished in extraordinary virtues, respector of every sect, the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself), descended from the family of the Royal Sage Vasū, the Great conqueror, the King, the illustrious Khāravela.

NO 8—KAP COPPER-PLATE OF KELADI SADASIYA-NAYAKA, SAKA 1479.

By N LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M A

This copper-plate was secured by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, from Kāp a village in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency in 1921 and has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year as No 8 of Appendix A.

¹ *arāhayaṭe* = *arhayaṭe*

² *Chīna-vāṭāni* = *chīna-vastrāṇi* or *Chīna-vastrāṇi*. The latter gives a more reasonable meaning

³ *vāṭā-sūāni*—This was formerly read as *tasā-sūāni*. It would be the earliest reference to the white clothes later on connected with the Śvētāmbara sect

⁴ *samānta* = Skt *samānta*

⁵ *Nāvaka* = Skt *Jñāpaka*—*Yāpa* in *yāpa-nāvakeḥ* may be interpreted in view of its use in *Charaka* as "mitigating pain", or as "supporting life" according to the *Mahābhārata* [The translation given above is adopted now from the Jaina texts. See above p 85, n 5—K. P. J.]

⁶ The Jains raised symbolical graves of saints and *Nishidhi* or *Nishidhi* was the name given to them. (Of. ante, Vol. II, p 274, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p 99)

⁷ Soul and body these relate to the Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Ch VII)

⁸ *Samghayana* = assemblage.

⁹ *pābhāre* = *prāg-bharē*

¹⁰ *nīsayāni* = Skt *nītrayāni*.

¹¹ *Amga* is a technical term meaning the sacred canon of the Jains. If we read *Amga-satika-turiyaṇ* instead of *Amgasatikah turīyaṇ* then we may translate it as "the *Amgas* (in collections of) 7 and 4". According to the Jaina tradition the *Amgas*, eleven in number, were discovered after their loss

¹² *turiyaṇ* = *tvartam*, "expeditiously", or *turiyaṇ*, "four-fold". Jaina authors maintain that the Jaina Canon is covered by 64 letters; see *Gōmmasāra*, *Jīva-khaṇḍa* (Sacred Books of the Jains, Vol V, 1827 edition by J. L. Jami, Introduction, p 13).

"The plate which is rectangular in shape is 16 4" long and 11 5" broad. At the top of the plate, just in the centre, there is a flat projection 1 4" broad and 1" high shaped into the form of an arch. There is a small hole in the arch through which passes an ordinary copper ring 1 75" in diameter. The plate has suffered a slight damage at its proper right corner at the top. But the writing on either side is in a good state of preservation. The plate with the ring weighs 230 tolas."

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Kannaḍa. The first six verses are in Sanskrit and the next six in Kannaḍa, the rest being in Kannaḍa prose. The Kannaḍa verses are defective both in diction and in prosody. The record is written in Kannaḍa alphabet and is rather indifferently inscribed. The letter *va* is often written like *ra* and it is not easy to distinguish *pa* from *ru* (as in *Tirumaraśa* in line 17). The aspirates are generally distinguished by means of the vertical stroke at the bottom except in the case of *dha*. The secondary form of *va* is sometimes used (*vuḷla* in l. 36 and *ūrolage* in l. 37). With respect to orthography (i) the consonants are invariably doubled when they are preceded by *rēpha*; (ii) the nasal is generally changed into an *anusāra* before consonants of the same class, (iii) the consonants are freely used in place of vowels (*e g*, *ye* for *e* in l. 21 and *vo* for *o* in l. 14), (iv) the letter *sa* is sometimes wrongly used for *sha* (ll. 8 and 42), and (v) double *na* is used for *na* as in *arnava* (l. 9).

The object of the inscription is to register a grant of land made by Madda-Heggade, the chief of Kāp with (the consent) of the assembly (*nāḷnavaru*)¹, communal and professional guilds (*gaṇa-pana*) and subordinate officers,² for offerings to Dharmmanātha, the 15th Jina Tirthamkara. The gift was made at the instance of the Jaina teacher Dēvachandradēva for the spiritual welfare of his *guru* Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinava ēvakirttidēva.

The date of the record is Śālvāhana-Śaka 1479, the cyclic year Nala, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, and Sunday. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Lphemeris* the details correspond regularly to A. D. 1556, October 4, Sunday.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Dharmmanātha which is followed by a verse in praise of the Jina-doctrine (*śāsana*). It then invokes Vardhamāna (Mahāvira), the 24th Jina. Verses 3 to 6 describe the high spiritual attainments of a Jaina sage named Bhūnu who belonged to Tintriṇi-gachchha, Kānūr-gana and Mūla-saṅgha. The Kannaḍa verses, which follow, extol the donor Madda-Heggade but tell us nothing material except that he belonged to the Paṅḡḷa line (*baḷi*) and that he was the administrator of the beautiful town of Kāp (Vv 7-12.) The inscription then states that Rāmarājayya, though he was the lieutenant of king Saḍāśī-varāya, was ruling the (*Viṇayanagara*) empire (ll. 18-21) and that Saḍāśīva-Nāyaka (of *Ilḷēri*) was the ruler of the districts of Bārakūru and Mangalūru. Next comes an eulogy of Madda-Heggade in an elaborate prose passage which tells us that he was administering the chief town of Kāp with (the help of) the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers. Then follows the formal portion of the grant. The lands granted were

¹ *nāḷnavaru* is the corrupt form of *nāḍnavaru* which comes from *nēḍu* meaning assembly.

² *gaṇa* 'is an aggregate of *tulas*' *kulānām hi samūhas=tu gaṇaḥ samprakīrtitah* (Kūṭyāyana, Vīramitrōdaya, p. 426, quoted by Dr. Fran. Nath in his "Economic condition of Ancient India", p. 54), and *pana* is a sectarian division. Eighteen *panas* are referred to in an inscription of the 17th century, viz., *Vyūrahārīlas*, *pāṇchālas* (five sects of *śaivās*), *kumbhālikas* (potters), *tantuvēyins* (weavers), *rastra-bhēḍaḥas* (cloth dyers?), *ṭila-ghāṭakas* (oil-millers), *kuraṇṭakas* (*kuraṇṭakas*? shoe-makers), *rastra-rakṣakas* (tailors), *dētāṅgas*, *parikēḷis* (*parikēḷitē* *varu*? keepers of pack-bullocks), *gō-rakṣakas* (cow-herds), *kīrāṭas* (hunters), *rajaḷas* (washermen) and *kṣau*, *raḷas* (barbers). These formed a recognised part of the local assemblies. (Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1916, part II, paragraphs 84 and 85.)

situated in the village of Mallāru and yielded an income of 80 *varāhas* ¹ This income, it states, was to be utilized for the daily rice offering, for the *hālu-dhāre* (milk-bath²) and for feeding the assembly (of sages) on the 17th and 25th days of every month Provision was also made for extra expenses to be incurred when either of these days happened to be a Mangala(ā)-trayōdāśī Muni Charanaviṣṇajī from Poona has kindly pointed out that, according to the colophon of the Digambara Jaina work *Yasūdharaśāstrīyā*, Mangalā-trayōdāśī is the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina

Sadāsiva-Nāyaka of the record was the first prominent chief of the Ikkēri-Keladi family which held sway over the whole of South Kanara and parts of the Mysore State from the 16th to the 18th century A. D. ³ Since very little is known about him, a short account of his career may be given here He was the elder of the two sons of Chaudappa, the governor of Malladēśa, the younger being Bhadrappa Soon after Sadāsiva succeeded his father, his first act was to reduce to submission by the order of Rāmarājayya, who was the *de facto* ruler of Viṣayanagara, the kings of Bijāpur and Kalyāra Immensely pleased with this achievement of Sadāsiva, the emperor appointed him governor of Chandragutti, Bārakūru and Mangalūru, besides bestowing on him the title of *Kṣēlōlāhala*⁴ (disturber of forts) and the privilege of affixing the term of honour *rāya-nāyaka* to his name Sadāsiva's next expedition was against the rebellious chiefs of Chandragutti and Bidar and in recognition of his achievements he got the *biruda* of *Satru-saptāṅgaharana* He next put down the chiefs of Tulu and Kērala and set up a pillar of victory. Shortly afterwards, he punished the defection of two chiefs named Yedava and Murāri in the country of Jālihālu and received as a reward the title of *Yedava-Murāri* from the emperor Sometime later, he marched against Mādarasa of Baṅkāpura and took him prisoner By this time Sadāsiva's younger brother Bhadrappa who had gone on a pilgrimage came back After governing the provinces conjointly with his brother for sometime, Sadāsiva nominated him as his successor with the surname Immaḍi Sadāsiva-Nāyaka and retired to the forest ⁵

The date of Sadāsiva-Nāyaka may now be ascertained Our grant is dated in Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1556) The latest date available for him, viz, Śaka 1486, Dundubhi⁶ (A.D. 1562) is furnished by a record at Mangārakūri near Bārakūr And Śaka 1473, Sādhārana⁷ (A.D. 1550) is the earliest date that we have for him from his inscriptions In Śaka 1488, Kshaya⁸ (A.D. 1566) Immaḍi Sadāsiva-Nāyaka is known to have been ruling Sadāsiva-Nāyaka must, therefore, have ceased to rule sometime between A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1566 So the period in which he flourished may be taken to be A.D. 1550-1562 The date assigned to him by Rice, viz, A.D. 1513-1545 is, therefore, not correct ⁹ Here it is necessary to say a word about Immaḍi Sadāsiva-Nāyaka's place in the genealogy of the Keladi family Though a number

¹ A *varāha* is equal to 3½ rupees. But the expression used here is *doḍḍa* (big) *varāha*, the exact significance of which is not clear

² For an account of this family see *A. S. R.* for 1911-12, pp. 196 ff., and Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 156 ff.

³ This title as well as others that follow are found in most of the inscriptions of the Nāyakas of Ikkēri.

⁴ This account is based on *Kaṣṭhas* 2-5, *Taratga* V of the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia *Śivatatvatratnāḷara* edited by Messrs B. Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B. and Vidvān P. Sundara Śāstrī.

⁵ No. 168 of 1901, *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1901.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 77

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nagar 1.

⁸ *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, table on p. 157.

of his inscriptions¹ has been discovered he has not been included in the table² of the house published by Rice, perhaps, because his relationship to other members of the dynasty was not known to that scholar. Now the work *Śvatatvaratnāhara* enables us to say that Immaḍi Sadāsiva-Nāyaka was the younger brother and successor of Sadāsiva.

The sage Bhānu, who has been highly eulogised in the record, must have been one of the Jaina teachers of that name who were replaced by Lalitakirtis in about Śaka 1286.³ Nothing is known about Dēvachandradēva at whose instance the grant was made, his *guru* Munichandra-dēva and his *guru* Abhinavadēvakīrttidēva.

With regard to the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the village Mallāru may be identified with Mallūru in the Uḍipi Taluk, Beḷuguḷa is the well-known Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in the Mysore State; Kopaṇa is Kopaḷ, a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jainas in the Nizām's Dominions, Parvata is probably identical with Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District, which is one of the twelve great centres of Śaiva worship.⁴ Gōkarṇa is the village of that name in North Kanara, Tīrumale is the celebrated Tirupati in the Chittoor District. Ūjjantagiri, which appears as Ūrjayat-giri in the Junūgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman,⁵ is the Mount Girnar on which there is an ancient temple of Nēminātha.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Śrī-Dharmmanātha[nē] śaranu || Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lūmchhanath
[1*] jīyā-
- 2 t=trailōkya-nūthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam || [1*] Svasti Śrī sakula-jñāna-sāmṛājya
-pada rūjita[1*] | Va-
- 3 rthdha(rddha)māna Jināddhīśa⁶-syādvāda-maṭha-bhāsuraḥ || [2*] Tīmtriṇī-gachchha-
vārūśēs=sudhāśūr=jñāna-dī-
- 4 dhitiḥ [1*]śa[d*]-dharmma-sarasī-hamsaḥ pravādi-gaja-kēsarī || [3*] Kāṇūr-gaṇa-nabhō-
bhāgō bābhūti muni-
- 5 kum[ja]rah | ajñāna-timur-ōddhūti [h*] Śrīmān-Bhānu-mun-i[śva]rah || [4*] Pamch-āchūra-
śara dhvasta-pamcha-
- 6 bāṇa[śa]ra-vrajah | akhaṇḍa-śrī-tapō-lakṣmī-nāyakō Bhānu-samyamī || [5*] Śrīmad-Bhānu-
mu-
- 7 n-śva[rō] vijayatē syādvāda-dharm-āmbarē śrīmad-jñāna-vinūt[na]-dīdhiti-[śa]ta-dhvast-
ārdhakā-
- 8 ra vrazah[1*] śrī-Māl-āmalā-saṃgha-nīraja-mahū-shaṃḍśv⁷=akhaṇḍa-śrīyam vyāta[nva]-
n=muni-
- 9 kōka chāru-nikaram saukhy-ārnn(ṇ)avē magnayan⁸ || [6*] Tuḷu-dēśav=emba bhūpana poḷeva
mahū-pa-
- 10 dakad=amte yesarg(so)gum nichkaṇ⁹ | dharey-oḷage Kāpina nagarada nelanan=ī[va] bhūpa
Madda-Hoggaḍey-embath || [7*]

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 2, 3 and 4.

² *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 167.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 129, f. n. 2

⁴ Nandolal Dey's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 193.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 42

⁶ Read *Jināddhīśa*.

⁷ Read *shaṃḍśhv*.

⁸ Read *mājjayan*.

⁹ Read *nichcham*.

- 11 Pamgula-balī adhīpatiyanu pom-galasade(a) nelake tānu nri-pa-kula-tilakam | samgata-sabheyolu
- 12 po[galgu]m Amgaja-jaya-Jina-pad-ūbja-madhukaran=embam || [8*] Bhū-dēviya mukha-lamnadi bādīm [hē]va]-
- 13 rge Kāpuv=enisida nagaram | ādaradimn=adaro[lg=ā] mēdini-mata-Dharmmanāthan=ena(se)gum Jinapam || [9*] Ā-nagara-
- 14 k=adhīpatiyum Śrī pati Tiru[ma]rasa-nri-pa [a]vanī-tilakam | vōmanadali¹ ātānum vōtu karam Mukti-La-
- 15 kshmg=ittam manamam || [10*] Yīn-embe Madda-Heggade dāna-chatu[r]-vvidhakke tāne chintā-ratnam sanmu[nnu]ta-guna-gana-
- 16 nu[leyam] umnata²-ēlāvanu tālda [nri]pa-rīpu-samhāram || [11*] Dharmmadolam [dri]dha]-chittanu nirmala-
- 17 guru-bha[kti]allī Tirumarasa-nripam Dharmma-Jina-Jaina-sāsanamam vom-mandim tānu mādi kriti[ya]-
- 18 mn(nn)=ittam || [12*] Svasti Śrī [||*] Jayādbhudaya³ Śālīvāhana-Śaka-varsha 1479 neya samda Nala-samvatsara-
- 19 da Kārttika-suddha 1 Ādityavāradalu Śrīman=mahārājādhurāja rājaparamēśvara satya-ratnākara
- 20 śaranāgata-vajra pamjara chatu[s*]samudr-ādhiśvara Kalyuga- chakravartī śrī-vīrapratāpa Sadāsīva-
- 21 rāya-rāja-rājendra-dakshina-bhāga-bhāgya-dēvatā-samūbhāram=appa Rāmarājayya-navar[u] yī-
- 22 ka-[chha]tradim rāya[va]nu pratipāhsut=irdda kālādalu Bārakūru Mamgalūralu Sadāsī-(ē)va-Nāyakaru
- 23 rājavam ge[yi]t⁴=irdda kālādalu Tulu[va]-dēśa-kāminī-inukha-kamala-tilakāyamā[n]-ānādi-⁵
- 24 ddha-prasiddha-Kāpi-simhāsan-ōday-āchal-ālamkarana-taruna-[t]jaraṇī-prakāśarūṇ ananya-rājanya-sau[ya]-
- 25 nany⁶-[au]dāryya-vīryya-dhairyya-[mā]dhuryya gāmbhīryya-naya-vinaya-satya-śaucha-ādy-ananta-guna-
- 26 gana-nūtna-ratn-ābhārāṇa-gana-kīran-ōdyūtita-Bharatādi-sakala-[pu]rāna-purusharum=appa
- 27 Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggadeyaru avara nā[li]navaru gaṇa-paṇa-sāvantaru Kāpina rājavā-
- 28 nu pratipāhsut=irdda kālādalu⁷ [||*] Svasti [||*] Śrīmad-rāya-rāja-guru-mahādā-āchāryya mahā-
- 29 vāda-vādīśvara rāya-vādī pitāmaha sakala-vidvā[ya]ṇa-chakravartīgalu⁸ ity-ādy-anēka-bi-
- 30 rudāvali-virājamānarūṇ Kāpūgra⁹-gan-āgra-ganyaruga[um]=appa Śrīmad-Abhinava-
- 31 dēvakīrttadēvaruga[ḷa] śaḥyaru Munīchandrādēvaruga[ḷu] [a]varugala śaḥyaru Dēvacham-drādē-

¹ Read ommanadali

² Read rīlayam

³ Read unnata

⁴ Read Jay ābhūdaya,

⁵ Read geyyuti-

⁶ Delete na

⁷ Read kālādalu

⁸ These *brudās* are also borne by Bha tikaṇka, the author of *Saddānuśāsana*, the Kannaḍa grammar in Sanskrit, and several other Jaina teachers.

⁹ Read Kāṭṭū-

- 32 varugalu tamma guru Munichamdradēvarugaḷige svargg-āpavarggaḷke kārāṇav-āgi
Kāpina-
33 lu dharmmavanu mādaḃēk=emba chittadūmda Tīrumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḃeyara
kūm(kū)-
34 deyu avara nāḷṇavaru gaṇa-[p]ana-sāmāntara kūḃeyu Kāpina halara sahāyadim-
35 da dharmmakke vomdu kshētravanu kodabēku yemdu chittaisal-āgi avarugaḷu dharmma-
36 parināma-svarūpavane vuḷḷavar=āda kārana guru-bhaktiyimda tamma simeya-
37 lu Ma[ḷiā]r-omba [vū]r-oḷage padu[va*]na dikkinalu Kaḷamṭōpatina bāḷkeyalu agaḷi-
38 mda voḷage bettina gadde l kkaṃ bīja baḷḷa mū[va]ttara lekkada batta mūḃe 2 mattaṇ
a-
39 gaḷimdam horage Pāpinadiy=emba ga[dde] l kkaṃ bīja baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada bīja
40 mūḃe 4 mattam bāḷa gadde l kkaṃ bīja baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada mūḃe 4 gadde mū-

Second Side.

- 41 rakkam bīja mūḃe 10 i bhūmgaḷige vuḷḷa kare mure mane bāvi halasu māvu su-
42 mbe nikkil=urkkamrde kaduru jala pāsū(shā)na saha mūla-dhāreyanu yera(eredu) ko-
43 ttu yisikomda doḃḃa vara(ā)ha ga 80 akshū(a)radalu yembhattu vara(ū)ha yī ho-
44 nṇige yeradu beḷeyalu saha varsha l kke baha akki aṅgaḃiya horigeya
45 baḷḷa aivattara lekkada akki mūḃe 24 i akkiḃe nadava dharmmada vivara Kāpina basti-
46 ya keḷagana neleyalu Dharmma-Tīrtha[m*]kara-sannidhiyalu madhyāhna-kāladalu nityada-
47 lu dina vomdakke vomdu baḷḷa akkiya naivēdyakku [Mu]nichamdradē arugaḷa hesa-
48 rinalu nada[va] hāla-dhāregu saha akki mūḃe 10 timgaḷu timgaḷu tappade tim-
49 galallu 17 hōhāga nadava vāra l mattam ippatta-aṇḃu 25 hōhāga naḃava
50 vāra l amtu timgaḷalli yeraḃu vāra samadāya¹ nadavudakke akki mūḃevu²
51 12 i vāramgalallu Maṅgala(ā)-trayōḃaśi bahāga ā Maṅgala(ū)-trayōḃaśi naḃava-
52 [d-e]m[du*] viśēshav-āgi yirisida akki mūḃe 2 amtu akki mūḃe yippatta-nāḷku
53 yī dharmmada sthaḷadallu Baḷḷaḷarige anāya sanāya salladu illa ā sthaḷaḷ³gadalu⁴ idda
54 vokkalige bittu biḃāra salladu kāṇike dese appaṇe padadallu yettu(a) salladu yemdu
55 sarvvaṃānyav-āgi Tīrumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḃeyaru avara nāḷṇavaru ga-
56 ṇa-ṇaṇa-sāmāntaru saha tamma dharmma-parināma-numittav-āgi tamma svarū(ru)chi-
57 yimda guru-bhaktiyimda voḃamhattu barasi koṭṭa tāmbra-śāsana imt=a-
58 ppudakke sākshigaḷu atī(dh)kāri Kārṇṭa-seṭṭi Chata Bīkra-seṭṭi Sāmaṇi Samkara-
59 seṭṭi Rāja-seṭṭi Bagge-[se*]ṭṭiya aḷiya Kēsana Mūḷūra Beḷile Bīrumāḷa
60 Dugga Baṃḃāri Bīrusāmaṇi yimṭ=ṇivara vubhay-ānma[ta*]ḃim Ma-
61 mḃalūra Samkaḷ-Sēnabōvana baraha [i*] yimṭ=i dharmma-śāsa[na*]kke mamgaḷa-
62 mahā-śrī śrī śrī[i*]Sva-dattā[d*]=dviguṇaṃ puṇyam para-datt-ānupālanam[i*]
63 para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattam nḷ(sh)phalam bhavēt || Dāna-pālanayōr=mmadhṛṣ
64 dānāch=chhrēyō-nupālanam dānāt=svarggam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutam
65 padam || yī(i) dharmma-śāsanakke āvanān=obba Jainan=ādava tappidare Beḷugu-
66 ḷada Gṃmmatanātha Kōpanada Chāmdranātha Ūḷamata-giriya Nēmīśvara-
67 modalāda Jīna-bimbagaḷan=oḃa(e)da pāpakke hōharu Śarvan=ādare Pa-

¹ Read *samudāya*.

² Read *mūḃe*.

³ The letter [ḷa] is written below the line.

⁴ Read *sthaḷadalu*.

68 rrvata-Gōkarnna-modalāḍavaralli¹ kōti-limgavan=oda(e)da pāyakke hōharu
 69 Vaishṇavan=ādare Tīrumāle-modalāḍavaralli kōti-Vishnu-mūrti an=ola(ṛ)
 70 da pāpakke hōharu || Bhadrām bhūyāḥ=Jina-śāsanasya [1] Śrī [11*]

TRANSLATION

L 1 Obeisance to Dharmmanātha¹

V. 1. For the translation of this verse see above, Vol XIII, p 22

V. 2 Hail! The illustrious Vardhamāna, the lord of Jinas, who adorns the seat (*symbolic*) of universal sovereignty of all knowledge and who brightens the *Syādiāda* school

Vv 3 and 4 Bhānu, the lord of sages, the ray of enlightenment of the moon to the Tim-trinī-gachchha ocean, the swan in the lake of pure faith (i.e., Jainism), a lion to the elephant of religious disputants, the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the elephant among ascetics, shines in the sky of Kānūr-gana.

V 5 The sage Bhānu who broke asunder the multitude of arrows of Cupid by his arrows, the five practices (*āchāras*²) is the lord of the ever prosperous Goddess of Penance

V. 6 The illustrious Bhānu, the lord of sages, the reducer of the masses of darkness to dust by hundred fresh rays of knowledge, stands victorious in the heavens of *Syādiāda* religion fostering eternal prosperity among the assemblage of lotuses in the (lake of) the pure Mūla-saṃgha and immersing sages, the herds of lovely *lotus*, in the ocean of happiness

V 7. Madda-Heggaḍe, the ruler of the city of Kāp—be he ever radiant on the earth like the shining pendant worn by the king, in the form of the Tuḷu country

V 8 (This) jewel of the community of kings, the lord of the territory adorned by golden pinnacles, born in the Panguḷa lineage, a bee at the lotus feet of Jina the conqueror of Cupid, is being praised in assemblies (of great and learned men)

V. 9 The city known as Kāpu is the mirror of the goddess Earth, therein shines the Jinapa Dharmmanātha honoured by the world

V 10 The lord of that city and the favourite of Fortune, king Tirumarasa, the ornament of the goddess Earth, gave himself up with one mind and with great zeal to (the service of) the Goddess of Final emancipation.

V. 11 How shall I describe (him)? Madda-Heggaḍe is the wish-giving gem (*chintāratna*) for the four kinds of gifts, the abode of all virtues and the vanquisher of enemy kings who have haughty demeanour

V. 12. King Tirumarasa possessed of firm faith in *dharma* granted a Jaina-śāsana (*endowment*) with one mind and with great devotion to his spiritual preceptor and got an inscription written (to that effect)

Ll 18f Hail! Prosperity! In the prosperous Śālivāhana Śaka year 1479 expired (*corresponding to*) the cyclic year Naḷa, on the 1st (*day*) of the bright half of Kārttika, on Sunday,

Ll. 19ff when Rāmarājayya, who was, as it were, the Goddess of Fortune on the right side of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēstara*, ocean of Truth, and adamant cage for those who seek refuge, the lord of the four oceans, the emperor of Kaliyuga, Virapratāpa-Sadāśivarāya, was protecting the kingdom under one umbrella and while Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was ruling (as viceroy) the (provinces of) Bārakūru and Mamgaḷūru,

¹ Read *°daruḡaḡalli*

² The five *āchāras* are 1 Darśan-āchāra (to induce steady faith), 2 Jñān-āchāra (to increase knowledge), 3. Chant-āchāra (to improve one's daily life), 4 Tapa-āchāra (to become a great ascetic) and 5 Viry-āchāra (to increase the power of one's inner self). (*Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions, Translations* p 54, f. 2)

Ll 23ff and while Madda-Heggade who had the name Tirumalarasa, an ornament to the lotus face of the damsel the Tuḷuva country, the young sun (*emerging from*) the eastern mountain, viz, the throne of Kāp which is from time immemorial famous in all directions, (*the incarnation as it were of*) all the ancients like Bharata¹ radiant with the rays of multitudes of ornaments of fresh gems, the collection of many virtues, which were possessed by no other man of royal descent, viz, friendliness, generosity, prowess, sweetness, profundity, policy, politeness, truth and purity, etc, was ruling the chiefdom of Kāp assisted by his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his subordinate officers;

Ll 28ff hail 'Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinavadēvalīrtidēva, the āchārya of the circle of royal preceptors, the lord of great disputants, emperor of all learned men, resplendant with several such *brūdas*, the foremost (*follower*) of the Kānūr-gana,

Ll 31ff his disciple Dēvachandradēva requested Tirumalarasa alias Madda-Heggade, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his officers to grant a piece of land with the help of several (*people*) of Kāp, with the intention of instituting a charity at Kāp for the final beatitude of his *guru* Munichandradēva,

Ll 36ff and as they were of a charitable temperament, they, out of devotion to their preceptor, granted, with pouring of water, on the western side of the village of Mallāru (*situated*) within their province, in the place called Kaḷantōpatina-bāḷke, on the inner side of the trench, one *beḷḷu*² land requiring seed (*for sowing*) of 2 *mūde* of paddy calculated at 30 *baḷla*³ (*for each mūde*) and outside the trench one wet land called Pāpinadī requiring 4 *mūde* calculated at 30 *baḷla* and a *bāgila* land requiring seed of 4 *mūde* calculated at 30 *baḷla*, (*in all*) three wet lands requiring seed of 10 *mūde*, with the properties attached to them, viz, *lāre*, *mure*, house, well, jack-trees, mango-trees, *sumbe*, *mīlīl*, *urḷlamīdde*, crop, water and stone, (*and Dēvachandradēva*) received 80 big *varāhas*—in words eighty—(*being the money income of the said lands*).

Ll 44ff From this gold (*was to be purchased*), at both crops, 24 *mūde* of rice calculated at 50 *baḷla* of the standard prevalent in the bazaar The (*following are the*) details of the charities to be managed with this rice

Ll 46ff. 10 *mūde* of rice for the rice offering at noon at the rate of one *baḷla* each day and for the *hālu-dhāre*, conducted in the name of Munichandradēva to Dharmanūtha-Tirthamkara in the lower storey of the temple at Kāp, 12 *mūde* of rice for feeding Jain ascetics (*samudāya*) on 2 days in the month, viz, the 17th and 25th day If either of these days happened to be a *Mamgalā-trayōḍaṣī*, 2 *mūde* of rice were provided for the extra expenses that would have to be incurred to celebrate that *Mamgalā-trayōḍaṣī* Thus the total is 24 *mūde*

Ll 53f In this place of charity the taxes *anāya*⁴ and *sanāya*⁵ were not to be levied by the Ballājas⁶, the Vokkalu had no *biḷḷi*⁷ and *biḷāra*⁸ and the fees *lānīle*, *dese* and *appane* could not be raised

Ll 55ff (*This is*) the copper-plate inscription recording the *sarvamānya* gift caused to be written and granted by Tirumalarasa alias Madda-Heggade, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and subordinate officers out of their own free will and devotion to their *guru*

¹ Bharata was the brother of Bāhubali or Gommatā and son of Ādinātha, the first Tirthaṅkara (Above, Vol VII, p 108 and *Mysore Arch Rep* for 1913, p 5)

² *beḷḷu* is a wet land capable of yielding one crop annually

³ *baḷla* is equal to 2 *seers* generally

⁴ *āya* generally means income but the import of *anāya* is not clear.

⁵ *sanāya* is perhaps a mistake for *sēnāya*, i.e., tax paid towards the maintenance of an army.

⁶ *Ballājas* are like the *Heggades*, a sect of the Bant class (*South Canara Manual*, Vol. I, p 160).

⁷ *biḷḷi* generally means free labour

⁸ *biḷāra* is perhaps a mistake for *biḷḷa*, a tax. (See *H. I. I.*, Vol 1V, Nos 255 and 276).

Ll 58ff The witnesses for this (*transaction*) are Atikāri (*Adhikāri*) Kānta setti, Chata Bikra-setti, Sāmanu Samkara-setti Rāja-setti, Bagge-setti's nephew Kēsana, Mūlura Behle, Bīrumāla Dugga and Bamdāri Birusāmnī With the consent of all these, Samkavī-Sēnahōva of Mamgalūr wrote this Prosperity and good fortune to this charity deed'

Ll 62ff Imprecatory verses

Ll 65ff Any one who violates this charity, if he is a Jaina, shall incur the sin of breaking the images of Gummataṇātha of Belagula, Chandranātha of Kopana and Nēmīśvara of Ūjjan-tagiri and other Jaina idols; if a Śaiva, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of images of Parvata, Gōkarna etc, if a Vaiṣṇava, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of images of Vishnu in (*holy*) places like Tīrumale May there be prosperity to the Jīna-śāsana (doctrine) Fortune'

No 9 —SAMOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA ,
[VIKRAMA-SAMVAT] 703

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

This short inscription was found at Sāmōlī in the district of Bhōmat in Mewār and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum at Ajmēr Prof D R Bhandarkar has already noticed it¹ It consists of twelve well-engraved lines of writing, covering a space of about $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$ The stone being slightly broken at the lower right corner, a portion of the inscription is missing A few letters here and there are also indistinct The average size of the letters is about $\frac{2}{3}''$ On account of its importance as the earliest inscription of the Guhila family of Mewār, a detailed notice of it is given below

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the acute-angled type They are almost similar to those of the Udaipur inscription of Aparājita² of V S 718 (A C 661) though the *mātrās* of the vowels ā, ī, ū and ū have different forms The language is incorrect Sanskrit and the inscription is written very carelessly As a result, the metres employed do not always stand scanning, and the meaning is also not quite clear in a few places As regards orthography, the following points may be noted —*n* is used for *n* in *ripūnām* (l 4), and *n* for *n* in *-janānamndī-* (l 5) and *-rāsinyā* (l 9), the *anuvāra* is used for *m* in *-sambādham* (l 8) and is redundant in *-janānamndī-* (l 5) and *-upādātamm-āranya-* (l 7), the *visarga* is omitted in *Harē* (l 2), *-narapati* (l 5) etc, while it is redundant in *-bhayāh* (l 2), *-mahatarah* (l 10) and *-januah* (l 4) etc, *sandhi* is not observed in *-jivanam āgara*^o (l 6), *-āgata ashtādasa-* (l 7) and other places, while it is wrongly used in *-nūaham mavālōkya* (l 3). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the text and the footnotes thereto

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows —After the invocation of the goddess Chandikā (ll 1-4), the epigraph praises Śīlāditya as the conqueror of his foes (ll 4-5) Ll 5-7 record that a *Mahājana* (*community*) headed by Jē[nta*]ka who had migrated from Vatanagara, started an *āgara* (² Skt *ālāra*, a mine) in Āranyakūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people In the next two lines it is said that the *Mahatara* (*Mahattara*) Jēntaka, at the command of the *Mahājana*, founded at the place a temple (*dēvākula*) of Aranyavāsūnī (Durgā), which was noted for its eighteen *vaitālīkas* (bards), hailing from different parts of the country and was always crowded with rich and wealthy people The sense of the last two lines

¹ PRAS, W C, 1903-09, p 48 and Ind Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p 189

² Above, Vol. IV, pp 29ff.

is not very clear, the inscription being broken at the corner. It appears, however, that the *Mahatara Jēntaka*, having seen the approach of the messengers of Yama entered fire (?) or committed suicide at the holy place of Dēbuvaka. The record ends with the date 703 *Kaṭika* (*Kāntika*) *di* (?). Evidently the year belongs to the Mālava-Vikrama era and corresponds to 646 A C.

As regards the personages mentioned in the inscription it would appear that Śilāditya was a scion of the Guhila family of Mewār. This inference is supported by the documents which have already been published—e.g., the Ātapura¹ inscription of Śaktikumāra, the inscription of Chitōr,² dated V S 1331, the Mt Ābū³ inscription of Samarasimha. As has been pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,⁴ the name Śila in the Ātapura inscription stands for Śilāditya who was succeeded by Aparājita⁵ whose inscription, dated V S 718 (A C 661), has been alluded to above. Nothing of importance is recorded about the *Mahatara Jēntaka*.

Vatanagara of the inscription is evidently the same as Vata⁶ (Vatapura) which has been identified with Vasantagaḍh⁷ in Sirohī State and is about 16 miles from Sāmōlī, where the inscription was found.

This inscription is of special interest, as it enables us to rectify a mistake made in connection with the pedigree of Gōha. Col. Tod supposed that Gōha (Guhila, Guhadatta, Guhāditya, etc., the founder of the Guhila family of Mewār, to which Śilāditya of this inscription belongs) descended from the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.⁸ The Alinā copper-plate inscription⁹ of the last Śilāditya of Valabhīpura dated in Gupta Samvat 447 (A C 766-67), would show that he was the ruler of the Valabhī kingdom at least up to the date of his inscription, i.e., the latter half of the eighth century A C.¹⁰ As the date of Śilāditya of the present inscription is Samvat 703 (A C 646), that of Gōha or Guhila, the fifth¹¹ predecessor from him, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A C, if an average reign of twenty years be assigned to each of the rulers preceding Śilāditya (of Mewār). Thus there is a difference of about two centuries between the reigns of Gōha (Guhila) of Mewār and the last Śilāditya of Valabhīpura. In other words, we might say that Gōha (Guhila) had established his rule in Mewār about two centuries prior to the break up of the Valabhī kingdom. Therefore Gōha could not have been the descendant of the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.¹²

¹ यस्यावये जगति भोजनमहेन्द्रनाग-

गोहापराजितमहेन्द्रमहेन्द्रशेरा *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

² *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 75, v. 18.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 348, v. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

⁵ Cf. note 1 above where the Lings are mentioned in succession.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 191. Cf. also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187. [But Vasantagaḍh cannot be philologically derived from Vatanagara.—Ed.]

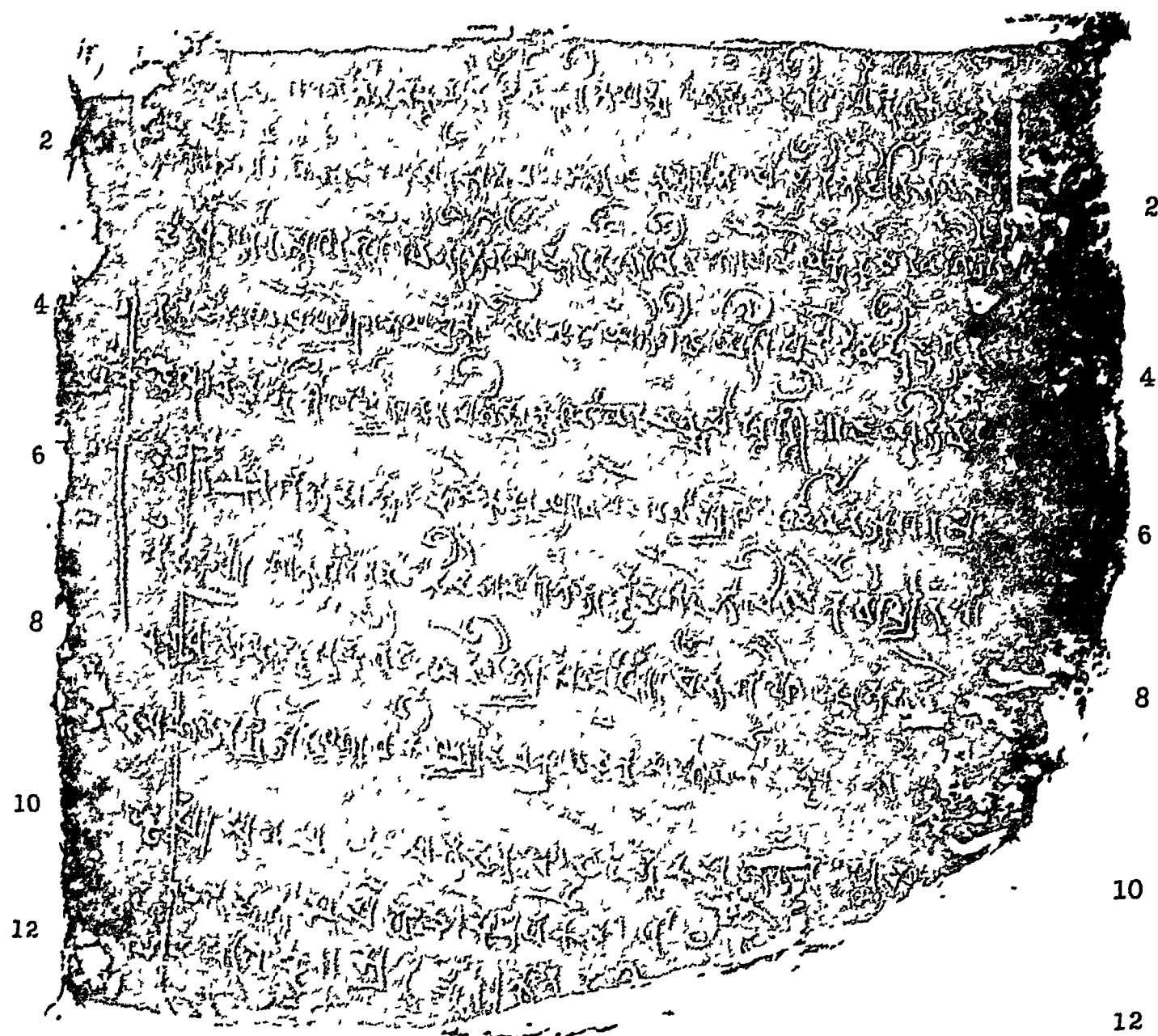
⁸ *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, pp. 253-59.

⁹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription to Śilāditya VII. In fact, Śilāditya II of his book (*vid.* p. 41, introduction) did not actually reign at Valabhī (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 208 and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 303). Hence Śilāditya VII ought to be Śilāditya VI. [This is a matter of opinion only, cf. Kielhorn's *Northern*, List No. 457, footnote 5.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 67. *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, p. 254, note 2.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV.

¹² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, pp. 169-74.



TEXT.¹

- 1 ओ² नमः ॥ पुनातु दिनकम(न्म)रोचिविच्छुरितपद्मपं(प)तच्छवि दुरितमाशु
 च(च)ण्डिकापादह³-
- 2 य ॥ हरे(रः)शिखिशिखाभकेसरस्थितमपास्तरज(जो) नूपुरा(र)भयाः(या)च्छुरित-
 दिविभाव(दिग्विभागं?) स-
- 3 दाः(दा) [1*] असुरोर(रः)खल(लं) शूलविनिर्भिन(न्न)मुद्गिररुधिरनिवहं ।
 [समा]लोक्य केसरि(रो) वहति ति-
- 4 रश्च चापलममप्येव⁴ भयमुद्विजनिवः⁵ ॥ जयति विजयी रिपूनां(णां) देव-
 द्विजगुरु-
- 5 जणा(ना)नन्दोः(नन्दी) [1*] श्रीशीलादित्यो नरपति(तिः) स्वकुलाव(म्ब)र-
 चन्द्रमा(माः) पृथ्वोः⁶ ॥ जयति वट-
- 6 नगरविनिर्गतमहाजन(नो) जे[न्त*]कप्रमुखं(खः) । येनास्य लोकजीवनं
 आ(नमा)गरमु-
- 7 सा(त्या)दितं(त)मारण्यकूपगिरौः(रौ)⁷ । [1*] नानादिदेशमागत⁸ अष्टादशवेताल-
 [क*]ले(लो)कविख्यातः(तम्) ।(।)
- 8 धनधान्यहृष्टपुष्ट[प्र*]विष्टजननित्यसबाध(धम्)॥ एभिर्गुणैर्यु(र्यु)तं तत्र [जिन्त]-
- 9 कमहतर(त्तरः) श्रीश्ररण्यवासिण्या(न्या) देवकुलं चक्रे महाजनादिष्ट(ष्टः) ॥
 देवो च प्र[ति]-
- 10 द्वाप्यमनुपालयतु⁹ [चि]रं(रं) स च जेन्तकमहतर(त्तरः) आस
- 11 वस्त्रतदूता¹⁰ समवेक्ष(क्ष्य) । देवुवके सिधा(द्वा)यत[ने]
- 12 लन¹¹ प्रविष्ट(ष्टः) ॥ ७०० ३ ॥ कति[क]¹² [ि] .

¹ From the original stone² Expressed by a symbol.³ 'छि' is engraved above the line, while 'ह' of 'पाद' is engraved just below 'पा'. The sign of 'च' in 'पा' is bent downwards and is different from other 'च' marks⁴ Read तिरया चापलमप्येव ?⁵ Read भयमुद्विजनिव⁶ Read पृथ्व्याम् Probably the metre should be Udgiti⁷ The 'प' of 'कूप' is written below the line under 'गि'. If we read 'निर्गत' in place of 'विनिर्गत' (In L. 6) then the metre would be Udgiti.⁸ Read नानादिदेशमागताष्टादश⁹ Read प्रतिष्ठानतु¹⁰ Read वैवस्त्रतदूतान्¹¹ Probably लन was intended.¹² Read कर्त्तिक

No. 10 —PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF RANABHANJA—THE YEAR 22

By R. D. BANERJEE, M.A., B.L.S.

These plates were sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner by Mr. L. E. B. Colden Ramsey, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, in 1915-16.¹ A summary of the contents of the inscription they bear, as drawn by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, was published in the *Annual Progress Report of the Eastern Circle* for that year.²

The plates are three in number and are joined together by a copper ring to which is attached a seal ($1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{8}''$) which is ellipsoid in shape and bears the legend *Śrī Ranabhañjadēvaya*. They are identical in size and measure $7\frac{1}{4}''$ by $4\frac{1}{2}''$ each. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only while the remaining two bear inscription on both the faces. There are altogether fifty-seven lines of writing on these three plates, which are distributed as follows: the first plate has eleven lines, the second, eleven lines on each side; and the third, twelve lines on each side. The writing on the whole is neat and clear but each line abounds in mistakes due both to the composer and the engraver.

The record is written in incorrect Sanskrit. The first eleven lines of it are in verse. They contain four stanzas of which the first three are already known from the two Baudh plates of the same prince.³ These verses contain an invocation to Śiva and the genealogy of the donor. This grant mentions two ancestors of Ranabhañja, namely, Śilābhāñja and Śatrubhañja, while the Baudh grant (B) names only one, i.e., Śatrubhañja, his father. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Vāhiravādā which stood on the banks of the Mahānadi and was included in Dakṣiṇapālā and the Kṣhīñjali-maṇḍala, to the god Vijaṭsara (Vijayāśvara), by Mahādēvi Vijyā (Vidyā) who was the daughter of the illustrious Rāpaka Nijānana. The god Vijaṭsara is evidently a Śiva linga and the donor, the wife of Ranabhañja himself. The document describes Ranabhañja as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the tilaka of the spotless Bhañja race and master of both the Kṣhīñjalis, who had obtained the five great 'śabdas' whose feet were worshipped by the Mahāsūmantas and who had obtained the blessing of the goddess Stam-bhēśvarī.

Mahānadi is evidently the well-known river of that name in Orissa. Kṣhīñjali is mentioned in several Bhañja grants which have already been published. I am unable to identify the village Vāhiravādā.

The date of the inscription is, apparently, regular and is given in a half chronogram as *Indu-vāk-viśanti varisē* (= *Indu-vāk-vimśati-varṣe*).⁴ Ordinarily this expression would denote the year 2011 of some era but the Baudh plates (B) which are written in the same script as this inscription would show that it stands for 22, *vāk* being taken in the sense of 1.⁵

I edit the inscription from the original plates which were kindly placed at my disposal by Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.I.E., the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1915-16*, p. 7, para. 6.

² p. 4, para. 5.

³ Above, Volume XII, pp. 323-28.

⁴ [But *vāk* (*vāc*) does not mean 'one' though it might stand for 'four' as it is supposed to have four stages, namely *Parā*, *Paṭyanī*, *Madhyanī* and *Vaskharī*—The reading, however, is not certain.—Ed.]

TEXT.

[Metres —Vv. 1-3, *Vasantatilālā*, v 4, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*, vv 5-19, *Anushtubh*, and v, 20, *Pushpūtāgrā*]

First Plate

- 1 Ōm¹ Ōm svastī | [1*] Samhāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-sambhrānta-kinka-
- 2 ra-ku(kṛ) tānta-[nītānta *]-bhinnam [1*] bhinn-Āndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātpatra² |³
tad=bhē(bhai)ṛavam Ha-
- 3 ra-vapu[r*]=bham(bha)vatah prapātuh⁴ || [1*] Durvvāra vāraṇa-ṛaṇa-pratapa[ksha-
paksha-la*]kshmi-hatha-gra-
- 4 hana-suprasṛita-pratāpā[h 1*] Bhañjan(ān)-narādhipatayō⁵ va(ba)havau(vō) va
(ba)bhu(bhū)vur=udbhūta-
- 5 yō(yē)=tra bhuvā(vi) bhu(bhū)m-sahasra-sa[m *]khyā[h] | [2*] Tēshām kulē
sakala-bhu(bhū)ta[la *]-pā-
- 6 la-mauli(li)-māl-ārchchit-āmghṛi-jugalō⁶ valavām⁷=nṛpō=bhu(bhū)t | śrī-
- 7 Śilābhañjadēva[h*] pravakraṭa⁸-pauruṣa-raśmi-chakra-nirdārit-ārī-
- 8 hrīdayō-sya pitā nṛpasya | [3*] Gāmbhīryēṇa payōnidhi[h*]⁹ |¹⁰ thratayā¹⁰ bhu-
(bhū)m[r *]=
- 9 va(ba)lēn-ā[nī *]la[s *]=tējōbhur=yalanō¹¹ =ryamā samatayā ||¹² śubhrar-jjāsōbbhi¹²
śasī(śi) [1*]
- 10 ātmā sarvva-jagana-mana¹³-sthitatayā datt-āvakāśō viyajāta¹⁴ |¹⁵ śrī-
- 11 Satrubhañja¹⁵ ity-atula-dhī[h*] tasy-ātmaja[h*] Svayamm̐bhu(Śambhu)vata(t) ||
[4*] Anyō-nya-mada-

Second Plate First Side.

- 12 māna-milita¹⁶-samuddhata-nṛpa-chakra-chaturanga-va(ba)la-kshōbha-chalī(li)ta-dha-
- 13 rā-mandala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarad-atula-dhulī¹⁷ -vitāna-sam-
- 14 chchhan[n*]ja-jany-āngana-ga[ja*]-skandha-vēdikā-svayamm̐va(yamva)r-āyāt(ta-)||¹⁸ paripīta-
ja[ya*]-lakshmi-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Read "ātpatrah

³ Punctuation superfluous

⁴ Read prapātu

⁵ [Ehañj: narādhipatayō —Ed.]

⁶ Read -āmghṛi jugalō.

⁷ Read balavān-

⁸ Read prakṛa

⁹ Punctuation superfluous

¹⁰ Read thratayā

¹¹ Read =jvalanō-

¹² Read "ujjāsōbbhi"

¹³ Read "jagan-manaḥ-

¹⁴ Read viyaj jātaḥ.

¹⁵ Read Satrubhanja.

¹⁶ Read "milita-

¹⁷ Read "dhulī-

- 15 samānandita-paura-jana-ma(ā)nasah śrīmad-Bhañja-bhu(bhū)patih purūd=Dhṛitipura-
nā
16 mna[h*] || Śa(Śa)rad-amala-dhavalā-kara-yaśah-paṭala-dhavalita-dig-va-
17 danō(nah) |¹ Ā(A)navarata-pravṛit[t*]a-samnūrna² -dān ā[na *]ndita sakala-janō(nah) |³
18 Ā(A)ṇḍaja vañ(m)śa-prabhavaḥ Parama-vaishṇava(vō) mūtā-pitrī-pāda(d-ā)nu-
19 dhyūta[h*] Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka Ubhaya-Khūñjal-ā(ly a)dhipati[h *] sama-
dhigata-
20 pañcha-mahā-śavda(bdō) mā(ma)hūsāmanta-vandita-[charanaḥ*] Stambhēśvari lav-
dha(bdha)-vara-prasā-
21 da[h*] |⁴ Rāṇaka-śrī-Ranabhañjadēva[h*] kuśalī [l*] Ih-aiva Khūñjali-maṇḍalē
22 bhaviṣyad-rāja-rāja(ā)nak āntatanga⁵-kumūra(rā)mūtya-mahūsāmanta-vrū(brā)hma-

Second Plate . Second Side

- 23 ṇa-pradhānā[n *] anyū[m]ś=cha dāṇḍapāśika-chūṭa-bhūṭṭa⁶ -vallabha-jūtinā⁷ ||⁸ ya-
24 thārhi' mānayati vaidhayati⁹ samādisayati(śati) ch-ānyat ||¹⁰ sarvvata[h *]
sī(śi)vam-a-
25 smākam | Vīditam¹¹-astu bhavatāḥ¹² Dakṣi(kṣh)ṇa-pa(pā)li-pratīva(ba)ddha |¹³
Mā(Ma)hānadi(dī)-vīma-
26 la-jala vīpī¹⁴-prakṣhālita-taṭa-Vāhira(Bāhira)vādū-grāma[ś*] |¹⁵ chatu[h *]si(sī)mū-paryanta-
[h*] |¹⁶
27 nīdhya upanīdhi¹⁷ sahītam(tah) mūtā-pitrō yatma-jaśa¹⁸-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē
28 salila dhārāḥ¹⁹-puraṣsarēṇa vidhinā | Śrī-Vijyā-mūhādēvyā²⁰ |²¹
29 [Para]ma-mūhāśvari(śvāryā) | Rāṇaka-Śrī-Niyārnama-sutā(tayā) Vijaśarāya²²
30 datvā vidhi-vidhānēna²³ sa-vidhēya-tāmra²⁴-śūsana[h] pratipādītō-yam || Pāram-ma²⁵.

¹ Punctuation superfluous

² Read °samnūrna°.

³ Read °antaranga°

⁴ Read °bhaṭa°.

⁵ Read °jūṭtyān

⁶ Punctuation superfluous.

⁷ Read yathārham

⁸ Read bōdhayati

⁹ At first this was also written dī, which was erased and la written in its place

¹⁰ Read bhavatīrṇ.

¹¹ Read °vīchi°

¹² Read °nīdhy upanīdhi°

¹³ Read mūtā pitrōr-ātmanas=cha yaśah

¹⁴ Read °dhārā°

¹⁵ Read °Vīdyā mahādēvyā.

¹⁶ Read Vijayēśvarāya.

¹⁷ °na is written below the line.

¹⁸ Read tāmra°.

¹⁹ The ma is superfluous

ia

ivb

SURVEY OF INDIAN

[illegible]

2226

| | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----|
| 46 | नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ | 46 |
| 48 | सर्वभूतहितं विना न भवति ॥ २ ॥ | 48 |
| 50 | नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥ | 50 |
| 52 | सर्वभूतहितं विना न भवति ॥ ४ ॥ | 52 |
| 54 | नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥ | 54 |
| 56 | सर्वभूतहितं विना न भवति ॥ ६ ॥ | 56 |

- 31 parya-kulāvatārēṇa ya(yā)vad-Vē¹ sarvva-vachanēna yathā dharma(mā)[h¹]
 prarōhamti ||² sā(yā)
- 32 sanē(tē)na pratnā(tanō)si sahasrēna virōhasi [l¹] ēva[m¹] vu(bn)ddhā(dhvā) par-
 ārdhhañ=cha paratō
- 33 vams-āvatārēna(n=ā)py=asmad-antarōr(u)parōdhād)=dharmma-gauravā[ch¹]=cha na kēnachi
 smalp-āpi³

Third Plate First Side

- 34 vā(bā)dhā karaniyā | tathā ch=au(ch-ō)ktam dharmma-sāstrēshu [||⁴] Phāla-kṛishtā-
 [m¹] mahi[m¹] dadyā[t¹]=sa-
- 35 vīja(jā)m sasya-mēdmī[m¹](śāhnīm) | yāva[t¹] su(sū)ryakṛit-ālōka⁴ tāva[t¹] = svargga⁵
 mahiyatē | [l 5¹]
- 36 Vēda-vām-asmayōj⁶ vadanti rishi⁷-dēvatāh[j¹] bhu(bhū)mī-hartrā⁸ tath=ānyach=
 cha ā-
- 37 hō mā hara mā hara , [l 6¹] Yath=āpsu patitam Śakra tē(tai)la-vindu[r¹]=
 visa[r¹]ppati ,
- 38 ēvam bhu(bhū)mī- kṛitam dānam sasya(syē) sasyē prarōhati | [l 7¹] Ādityō
 Varu-
- 39 nō Vishnu[r¹]=Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāsana[h¹] | Śulapānīs⁹=tu bhagavām¹⁰
 a-
- 40 bhunandrant¹¹ bhu(bhū)mīda[m¹] | [l 8¹] Āsphōtaya[m¹]ti pitarah pravalgaya(ga)-
 41 nti pitāmaha(hāh) | Bhu(Bhū)mī-dātā kulē jātā(tah) sa mē trātā bhavishya-
 ti | [l 9¹] Rvvahu-¹²
- 42 bhir=vvasudhā dat[t¹]ā rājānah¹³ Sagar-ādibhu[h¹]¹⁴ | [l 10¹] Mā-ru(bhū)d=
 aphala-samkā ya paradatēshu
- 43 pālitam¹⁵ | yasya-yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mī[s¹]=tasya tasya tadā phala[m¹]
 [l 11¹] Sva-dat[t¹]ā[m¹]=para-dat[t¹]ā-

¹ Read *Vēd-ārtha-*

² [Punctuation superfluous Cf above, Vol. XII, p 324, l 22 & f n —Ed.]

³ Read *kēnachi smalp-āpi*

⁴ Read *°lōla°*

⁵ Read *°svarggē*

⁶ Read *vēda vāk-smṛitayōjihvā*

⁷ Read *rishi°*

⁸ Read *haritā* [See above Vol. XII, p 325, l 40 —Ed.]

⁹ Read *Śulapānīsa-*

¹⁰ Read *bhagavān*

¹¹ Read *abhinandanti*

¹² Read *Bahubhir°*

¹³ Read *nījabhīh*

¹⁴ The second half of this verse has been omitted. [The second half has been put as the second half of the next verse, the latter half of which (viz., *stadānāt phalam* etc.) has been omitted.—Ed.]

¹⁵ Read *bhūd=aphala-samkā vah para-dati=ēti pāritivāh.*

- 44 m-vā yō harēd=va(rēta va)sundharām | sa viśtṭhāyā[m*] kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā
pitṛibhi[s*]=saha pachyatē | [1 12*] Hiraṇya-
- 45 m-ēkam gām=ēkam(kām) bhu(bhū)mim¹=apy=arddham-angulam | Hara[n*]-nara-
kam=āyāta yāvad=ūbhuta(bhūta)-

Third Plate - Second Side.

- 46 samplavah(vam) | [1 13*] Bhu(Bhū)mi[m*] yah pratigṛhṇāti yach(ś)=cha bhu-
(bhū)mi[m*] prayachchata | ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇau
- 47 niyatau² s[v*]argga-gāminau | [1 14*] Haratē hārayatē bhu(bhū)-mi[m*]
manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā(mō)-vṛtāh | sa va(ba)-
- 48 ddhō vārupaiḥ pāśai[s*]=tīrya[g*]-yōnī(ni)shu jāyatē [1 15*] Mā pār-
thivah(va) kadāchī[d= dhi*] vra(bra)hmasvam mana-
- 49 sād=api(sā api) | arṅgō padham³=abhaisva(sha)jyam ōtat hālāhalam viśam
[1 16*] Ā(Na) viśa[m*] viśam=ity-ā-
- 50 hu[h*] vra(bra)hmasvam viśa[m*] uchyatē | viśam=ēkāṇō(nam) hantī
vra(bra)hmasvam putra-pautri(tra)ka[m*] | [1 17*] Lauha-chu(chū)-
- 51 rṇṇ-āśva⁴-chu(chū)rṇṇaṇ-cha viśaṇ-cha jarayē[n*]-narah | vra(bra)hmasvam tṛi-
shu lōkēshu kah pumām(n)
- 52 jaramājavaramiśyati⁵ | [1 18*] Vājapēya-sahasrāṇi⁶ y-Āśvamēdha-śatāni
- 53 cha | gavām-kōṭi-pradattāna⁷ bhu(bhū)mi-harttā na śyudhyati⁸ | [1 19*]
Iti kamala-dal-ā-
- 54 mvu(bu)-vi[m*]du-lōlā[m*] śrīyam⁹=anuchintya shantasya¹⁰-jivitaṇ-cha sakalam=idam=
udāhṛtaṇ-cha
- 55 vudaiḥ¹¹ na hi puruṣaiḥ parakī(kī)tta(rtta)yō vilōpyā[h*] | [1 20*] Vijaya-
rājyē sammva(samvat)sar=ēndu-vvāg-vi-¹²
- 56 santi-varisē(varshē) uktarṇṇaṇ¹³=cha vapika(k)-suvarṇṇakāra-Sivapāga(gāna) Pāṇḍi-suta
(tēna) [1*] mahā-
- 57 rājakiya-mudrēpati¹⁴ ||

¹ Read bhāmēr-

² Read niyatam.

³ Read param=abhais

⁴ Read āśma

⁵ Read jarayishyati

⁶ Read -saha rēṇ=Āśvamēdha-śatāna

⁷ Read -pradānēna

⁸ Read buddhyati.

⁹ Read śrīyam

¹⁰ Read manushya

¹¹ Read buddhā.

¹² [See note 4, p. 100 above—Ed.]

¹³ Read uktarṇṇaṇ

¹⁴ [Possibly meant for *mudrayā lāuchhatam=iti.—Ed.]

No. 11.—THE KADAMBAPADRAKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN—V S 1167

By R D BANERJI, M.A.¹

The inscription edited below is incised on two thick plates of copper which weigh 15 lbs 7 oz and now belong to Mr J J Gardar of Nepean Sea Road, Bombay, who purchased them at some place in Central India, and lent to me in November, 1920, for publication. There are two holes in each of these plates through which they appear to have been once tied together by means of two rings like many of the Valabhī plates which have now been published. There is no seal attached to them but a kneeling figure of Garuḍa, holding a snake in each hand, is incised at the proper right corner of the second plate, as is seen in the Dharampurī plates² of Vākpatirāja of V S 1031, the Ujjain plates³ of Bhōjadēva of V S 1078 and the Mādhātā plates⁴ of Jayasimha I of V S. 1112. The plates measure 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ " by 8" each and are incised on one side only. In all, there are twenty-nine lines of writing on them, seventeen being incised on the first plate and twelve on the second. The average height of letters is $\frac{5}{8}$ "

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses at the beginning, two in the middle and five imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is written in prose. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Naravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P M P, the illustrious Udayādityadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P M P, the illustrious Bhōjadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P M P, Śindhurājadēva.

The object of the charter is to register the grant of certain pieces of land given on different occasions to a Brāhmana named Dvivēda Āsā(śā)dhara, son of Nārāyana of the Kātyāyana-gōtra and Mādhyandina-śākhā. The gift-land consisted of twenty *nuartanas* given by the king Naravarmadēva himself on the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1167 (=Thursday, the 3rd February, 1110 A D) when this grant was issued. The charter also refers to a previous grant of twenty *halas* of land, out of which ten *halas* were given by the *Mahāmandalika* Rājadēva on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the year 1154, four *halas* by his daughter-in-law,⁵ the illustrious Mahādēvī, probably on the same date, and six *halas* by the king himself, on the 15th day of the bright half of Pausa in the year 1159 on the occasion of the Bhūtaraprana (Bhūtarātri ?)-parian.⁶ Thus, three different dates are mentioned in the inscription, probably, with a view to bringing together all the grants of land made to the donee up to the time when the present charter was issued. The gift-land lay in the village of Kadambapadraka which was in possession of the *Mahāmandalika* Rājya(ja)dēva and was situated in the *pratyāgarāṇaka* of Mādāraka in the Upēndrapura-mandala. The measurement was called a plough measure (*hala*) which was of ninety-six rods (*dandas*). The length of the *danda* in Mālwa at this period is unknown. A town named Upēndrapura is mentioned in the Ranod inscription⁷ of the Mattamayūra ascetics which seems to

¹ [This article was taken up for publication after the sad and premature demise of the author and was revised by Dr N. P. Chakravarti, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy.—Ed.]

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 51 f.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 53 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff.

⁵ [Probably *vadhā* is to be taken in the sense of 'wife' here.—N. P. C.]

⁶ [The correct reading seems to be *Udayayana-parvan*. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *udagayana samkrānti* took place on Wednesday, the 24th December, A D 1102, i.e., two days before the date given in the present grant.—N. P. C.]

⁷ Above, Vol. I, pp. 354 ff.

have given its name to the *mandala*. I am unable to identify either Kadambapadraka or Mandāraka. The grant was issued under the sign manual of the *Mahārāja* Naravarmadēva and the *Dūtaka* of the charter was Thakkura Kēsava.

TEXT.¹

[Metres — Vv 1, 2, 4 and 5, Anushtubh; Vv. 3 and 7, Vasantatilakā; V. 6, Indravajrā; V. 8, Śālinī, V. 9, Pushpitāgrā.]

First Plate.

- 1 Om² svasti || Śrī[r*]=jayō=bhyudayaś=cha || Jayati [Vyō]makēśō=sau yah sarggāya vi
(bi)bhartti(rtti) tām | andaviṁ śirasā lēkhām jagad-vijāṅga sa kṛtiṁ³ || [1||*]
- 2 Tanvantu vah Smar-ārātēh kalyāṇam=amśam jatāh | kalp-ānta-samay-ādūta-⁴taḍid-
valaya-piṅgalāh || [2||*] Paramabhadvā(tā)ra-Mahārājā-
- 3 dhīrāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Sindhurājadēva-vā(pā)dānudhyāta-Parana(ma)bhāṭṭāraka-Mahā-
rājādhīrāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-pādānudhyā-
- 4 ta-Va(Pa)ramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhīrāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Udayādītyadēva-pādānudhy-
āta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhīrāja-Pa-
- 5 ramēśvara-śrī Naravarmmadēvah kuśali || Upē[*n]drapura-maṇḍalē Mandāraka-
pratijāgaranakē Mahāmamdalīka-śrī-Rājya(ja)dēva-bhuyya(jya)-
- 6 māna-Kadamva(mba)padraka-grāmē samupagatāśnamasta⁵-rāja-purushān=Vrā(Brā)-
hman-āntarān⁶=[pra]tinvāsi-pattakīla-janapadādī[m*]ś=cha vō(bō)- | 7
- 7 dhayaty=astu vah samviditāṁ || yathā śrīmad-Dhār-āvasthitaṁ=asmābhīh snātva
charāchara-gurum bhagavantam Bhavānīpatim samabhya[r*]chchya samsā-
- 8 rasy=āsaratā[m] dṛṣṭvā | Tathā hi | Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipaty-
am=[ā]pāta-mātra-madhurō viśhay-ōpabhōgah | prāṇās-tṛi | 7
- 9 ṇ-āgra-jala-vindu-samā narāṇām dharmah sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [3||*]
Bhramat-samsāra-chaḥkr-āgra-dhār-ādharām=imām śriyāṁ [| *]
- 10 prāpya yē na dadus=tēśhām paśchāttāpah param phalam || [4||*] Iti jagatō
vina[śva]raṁ svarūpam=ākalayy-ādṛṣṭa-phalam=amgikṛtya chandr-ārkk-ā-
- 11 ṇṇava-kṣiti-samakālam yāvat=parayā bha[ktyā] | ⁸ śrī-Madhyadēś-āntahpāti-Śṛiṅga-
pura-sthāna-vinirgata-Kātyāyana-gōtra-Kātyāyana-
- 12 Kapila-Viśva(śvā)mitr-ēti-tṛi pravara-Mādhyamdina-śākh-ādhyāyi-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Dvir(Dvi)
vēda-Nārāyaṇa-pautra-Dīkṣita-Dēvasa(śa)rmma-suta-Dvivēda-Āśā(śā)ddharāya
- 13 uparīkṣita-yā(grā)mātshannavati-parvva-daṁ(da)ṇḍa-prāmāṇyēna bhēya⁹ dvichatvā-
risan(rimśan)-mādhyakēna bhū-nivarttapa-vimśati-pratyā | ⁹ | Bhū-
- 14 hala-vi[m*]śatih param=atō¹⁰ Mahāmaṇḍalīka-śrī-Rājadēvōna chatuhpa[m*]chāsa
(śa)d-adhika-śat-alkādaśa-samvatsarē Kā[r*]ttika-śudi-paṁchada-

¹ From the original plates and impressions

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read jagad vij āṅkur ākṛtiṁ

⁴ Read -samay āddāma-

⁵ Read *galānsamasta

⁶ Read ūtarān=

⁷ Daṇḍa unnecessary

⁸ Daṇḍa unnecessary.

⁹ [Probably we have to read mēyā.....vishatish pratti — N. P. C.]

¹⁰ Read pāram | dā.

[illegible]

18 20 22 24 26 28

निःसृज्यमात्रस्यतिगा
सावपि नृपत्ननृपुण्य
वापि नृपत्ननृपुण्य
नितरां सोमाद्युत्तमुण्य
पान्तो यथा उक्तं वदु
वन्ता निपुणनसृज्यतिगा
कलकमृषवाभुदाह
परिपान्तनसृज्यतिगा

चुपयेनासद्विण्यसयसोपग
यज्ञासिद्वयशसनादकपृक्कया
दुस्सुमयदनवस्मादोयावन्नृप
मिसृष्टातच्छतवापनानि
नामसाधुनृपदशेनाप्रम
सुइदमयदुस्सुचलायादन्नफलपयसरा
शोभागवदुस्सुचलायादन्नफलपयसरा
सुनोयासवद्विष्टनिःसृज्यतिगा
सकलमिदमयदुस्सुचलायादन्नफलपयसरा
माघशक्तिरदृष्टं कुमारीकयवः मगलमदयः ॥ १ ॥



सुदत्तौगमदमाज्यीनृबुद्धदेवश्री

18 20 22 24 26 28

- 15 śyā[m] sva-bhuktō kasyitam vāddhāpita^(?)-bhū-hala-daśakati-(bhu)rvvā¹ Mahāman-
dalika-śrī-Rājadēva-vadhū-śrī-Mahādēvyā pū[r]vva-kalpē ta(da)-²
16 tvān(ttā) bhū-hala-chatushtayam | Tathā asmābhur=ākōnashash ty-adhika-sat-
i(a)kādaśaka-samvatsarē Pausha-śudī-
17 pamchadaśyā[m] samjāta-bhūtaraprana-parvvan kasyitatvam³ (?) bhū-hala-shaṭka
[m*] | Ēvam yathāyatham bhū-hala-vi[m*]śa-⁴

Second Plate

- 18 tih sa-simā-tṛṇa-[yū]ti-gōchara-paryantā sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-hō(bhō)ga-sōpankara sarvv-
ādāya-samētā
19 sāvā(mātā) pitrōr=ātmanas=cha punya-yaśō-bhūḍi(vṛ)ddhayē śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvva-
katayā pradattā [|*] Tē(Ta)n-matvā tan-ni-
20 vāsi-pattakila-janapadair=yathādiyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādikē(ka)m=ājñā-śra-
vana=vidhēyair=bhu(bhū)tvā sarvvam=amushmē(śhmai) samupa-
21 nētavayam | Śāmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalam vu(bu)ddhvā asmadamsajair⁵=any[ai]r=
apī bhāvi-bhōktṛbhur=asmāt-p[r*]adatta-dha[r*]mm-ādāyō=yam=anumantavyah | ⁶
22 pālaniyaś=scha | Uktam cha | Va(Ba)hubhur=[vva]sudhā bhuktā rājabhūh Sagar-
ādibhūh | yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m] | [|*]
Yān=iha
23 dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāni | nirmālya-vānti-pratimāni
tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita | [| 6||*] Asma-
24 t-kula-k[r*]amam=udāram=udāharadbhur=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyānumōdanīyam
Lakṣa[m*]yās=tadud-valaya-vudvuda(budbuda)-chamchalāyā dānam phalam para-
śha(ya)śab-
25 paripālanam cha | [| 7||*] Sarvvān=ēta(tān)=bhā(bhā)vinah pārthivēmdrān=nripō nūyō⁷
yāchatē Sa(Rā)mabhadrah | śā(sā)māny=ōyam dharma-sētur=nripānām kālē kālē
pā-
26 lanīyō bhavadbhūh | [| 8||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmva(bu)-vind[u*]-lōlām śrīyam=anuchitra
(ntyā) manushya-jīvitam cha || ⁸
27 sakalam=idam=udāh[ri]ta sa vudha⁹ na hu puruma(śhaḥ) para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti ||
[| 9||*] Samvat 1167
28 Māgha-(ś)udī 12 [|*] Dū¹⁰ || Thak[k*]ura-śrī-Kōśavah || Māmgalam mahā-śrīh ||
cha śrīh ||
29 Svahastō-yam mahārāja-śrī-Naravarmmadēvasya ||

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail ! (May there be) prosperity, victory and success Let that Vyōmakēśa (Śiva), who, for the sake of the creation, holds on his head the crescent of the moon which has a form like the shoot from the seed of the Universe, be victorious (1) May the matted hair of the Enemy of the god of love (i.e., Śiva) which is reddish like the fierce circles of lightning at the time

¹ [I would read sva-bhuktō(ktau) kalpatatvād=dāpita[m*] bhū hala-daśaka[m*] tīdāt (| Tathā) —N P C]

² [I would read pū[r*]vva-kalp[ī]yatvāt —N P C]

³ [The reading appears to be *nū(U)dagapra(ya)na-parvvan Kasya(lpī)tatva(tvā)t —N P C.]

⁴ Daṇḍa unnecessary

⁵ Read asmaḍ=vaśmāyair=

⁶ Read bhūyō bhūyō

⁷ Only one daṇḍa is required

⁸ Read udāhṛtaṇ-cha buddhvā

of the end of the world, grant you prosperity incessantly (2) The *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-dhūrāja-Paramēśvara* the illustrious Naravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious *Udayādityadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious *Sindhurājadēva*, being in good health, informs the various officers, Brāhmanas and others, Paṭtakilas and inhabitants of towns, assembled in the village of *Kadambapadraka* which is being enjoyed by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika śrī-Rājadēva* (and which is situated) in the *prati-gāgaranuḷa* of *Mandāraka* of the *Upēndrapura-maṇḍala*. Let it be known to you that while residing at *Dhūrā*, having bathed and worshipped *Bhagavān (Śiva)* the ruler of the world and the lord of *Bhavāni* and having perceived the worthlessness of the world—as it is said, “This ownership of the earth is (as transient) as clouds moved by the wind, the enjoyment of property is sweet only for the time being, lives (of men) are (as unstable) as drops of water on the points (of blades) of grass, Dharma is the only friend in the journey to the other world (3) Those who, having obtained this fortune which is as unstable as the sharp edge of the moving wheel of the world, do not give it (to the needy or the deserving), for them the only result will be great repentance afterwards (4) So, having ascertained the transient nature of the world and having agreed to the result of fate, with great devotion, twenty *nivartanas* of land, measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas* in length (?) and forty-two in breadth (?) from the above-mentioned village¹ are given by us, to last as long as the sun, the moon, the earth and the sea, to the Brāhmaṇa *Dvivēda Aśādharma*, son of *Dīkṣita Dēvaśarma* and grandson of *Dvivēda Nārāyaṇa*, who was an immigrant from *Śringapura*, situated in the Middle-country (*Madhyadēśa*), who belonged to the *Kātyāyana gūṭra* with the three *pravara*s *Kātyāyana*, *Kapila* and *Viśvāmītra*, (and) who was a student of the *Mādhyandina śākhā* Also² twenty plough measures of land were given by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika*, the illustrious *Rājadēva* on the 15th day of the bright half of *Kārtika*, in the year 1154, from land being enjoyed by him and therefore retailed (? *vaddhā-pīṭa*), also ten plough measures given by the illustrious *Mahādēvī*, the daughter-in-law of the *Mahāmaṇḍalika*, the illustrious *Rājadēva*. So also four plough measures given in a previous *kalpa*, so also six plough measures given by us on the occasion of the festival of *Bhūtaraprana*(?) on the 15th day of the bright half of *Pauṣa*, in the year 1159. Thus, the twenty plough measures of land, in its regular order, with its boundaries, with rights of grass, *yūti* and pasturage, with rights of mining gold, of shares and easements with additional taxes and with all other income is given for the increase of the merit and fame of our own self and of our father and mother, by means of a (copper)-plate after a previous libation of water. Having regard to this, all shares, easements, taxes, rights of gold mining, etc, hitherto given by the *Paṭtakilas* and the townsmen inhabiting the place, are to be given to him (the donee). (Here follow the usual formula and five imprecatory verses) The year 1167, the 12th day of the bright half of *Māgha*. The *Dūtaka* (of this grant was) *Thakkura śrī-Kēśava*. My own sign manual “the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Naravarmadēva*”

¹ [The passage may be translated as ‘twenty *nivartanas* of land from the abovementioned village out of the forty-two (*nivartanas*) measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas*,’ etc.—N. P. C.]

² [The meaning of the word *kalpa* as used in the text is not certain. This term also occurs in the grants of *Bhūjadēva* of VS 1078 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53) and *Yaśovarmadēva* of VS 1192 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 310). Possibly it has to be taken in the sense of ‘settled’ or ‘fixed’. I would translate ll. 14-17 as follows—

Additional twenty plough measures of land (were also granted). Out of these ten *halas* of land were caused to be given in his own *bhukti* by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* the illustrious *Rājadēva* on from (his own) settlement (?), four *halas* of land (were given) by the illustrious *Mahādēvī*, the wife of the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* the illustrious *Rājadēva*, from her previous settlement (?) and six *halas* of land (are now given) by us on on the occasion of the *udayayana parvan* from (our) settlement (?)—N. P. C.]

No 12 —TWO SINDA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENACHAMATTI, SAKA 1088 AND
SAKA 1109

BY R S PANCHAMUKHI, M A, OOTACAMUND

These two records are engraved on a stone tablet lying in front of the temple of Īśvara at Benachamatti in the Gajēndragad State which is included in the *Ron taluk* of the Dhārwar district. They are edited here for the first time from the estampages secured by me under the orders of the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1927-28.¹ The first inscription covers an area of 2' 9½" by 2' 3½", the size of each letter being about ½" in height. The area occupied by the second inscription is 2' 3½" by 6½" and the size of each letter is roughly ¼". The latter is the continuation of the former. I am calling them A and B respectively for the sake of convenience. They are in a fairly good state of preservation excepting that some letters of B are lost at the right corner of the lower edge where the stone is broken.

Both the inscriptions are Kannada records of the twelfth century of the Christian era. In A the long *i* is distinguished from the short one by an inside coil at the top as in *pāhina* (l 1), *Chamdaladēvi* (l 19), etc., the *u*-sign at times has a short downward bend by the side of the letter with which it is connected as, for example, in *Chāvunḍa* (l 10), *sudhā* (l 11), etc., the *ai*-sign is represented, in some cases, by a horizontal line at the bottom of the letter concerned with a curve on the left side and, in others, by a cursive upward stroke shooting from the bottom to the right end, as in *Mandara-dhairyyam* (l 18), *sainyam* (l 26), the letters *m*, *y* and *v* have very often been represented by their special cursive forms as in *bahyam* (l 6), *°y-ahyam* (l 7), and *dēv-āyatanamumam* (l 37) respectively, the *anusvāra* is written by the side of the letter connected therewith in four places, *i e*, in *yenisidam* (l 19), *kulamgalim* (l 29), *dēv āyatanamumam* (l 37) and *gāmbhīrya* (l 42). The Orthography is generally free from errors. It may be noted that in A the engraver has filled up the space left at the end of lines 3, 6, 10, 12, 13, 20, 24, 35, 38, 41, 46, 49, 51 and 52 by the addition of a superfluous mark resembling the English letter S. In B the consonant *la* is, in several places, wrongly used for *ḷa*, as in *pāḷa* (ll 3, 5 and 6), *kaḷegaḷoḷu* (l 5), etc., and the letter *te* in *Nōhūlana teḷaḍi* (l 4) is written like *ḷe*.

Excepting the first verse which is in Sanskrit, A is written in Kannada poetry interspersed with prose in ll 8, 10, 31, 32, 36-38 and 44-54. B is also composed in Kannada poetry with a prose passage in ll 10-16.

After the usual invocation to Śambhu (*i e*, Śiva), A describes the ocean (ll 2-3), the Jambūdvīpa and the Mēru mountain (ll 3-4), the Kumtala country and its past kings (ll 4-5) and the reigning sovereign Kalachurya Bijjana who is stated to have wrested the royal glory from the (Western) Chāḷukyas (ll 5-7). It then introduces Bijjana's son-in-law Chāvunḍa-nṛpa of the Sinda family whose pedigree is given in lines 8-29. Further it tells us that, of the seven brothers—namely Ācharasa, Nāka, Singa, Dāsa, Dāvana, Chāvunḍa and Chāva—Chāvunḍa was a powerful warrior and that to Ācharasa was born Bammārasa, a moon to the ocean of the Sinda family. His brother was the renowned Ācharasa (II), son of Simha (or Singa). To him were born Perma by queen Mahadēvi and Chāvunḍa (II) by queen Chamdaladēvi. Of Chāvunḍa it is recorded that when the Hoysaḷa king met him with a huge army, the Sinda prince destroyed its general together with other opponents and captured his elephants in large numbers. Again when the Pāṇḍya chieftain Kāmanṛpa waged a war against Chāvunḍa with a view to conquer him, he met with a crushing defeat and had to flee away for life in the forest. When Chāvunḍa was ruling his territory from his capital at Erarṇbarage (which is compared in lines 28-31 to the celestial Amarāvati, Ayōdhyā, Mathurā and Ujjayini), the Fifty Families of Telligas extolled in ll 32-36 constructed the

¹ Nos. 31 and 32 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection. App E A R on S. I. Epigraphy, 1927-28.

temple of **Telligēśvara** in the south-east quarter of that town and made certain gifts to it after laving the feet of **Chamdramauli-vratin** of the **Lākula** sect, the **āchārya** of **Simhēśvara-matha**,¹ on the day specified in ll 46-47 during the reign of the **Kalachurya** king **Tribhuvanamalla Bijjanadēva** (ll 44-45) Lines 38 44 give the genealogy of the **Āchārya Chamdramauli-vratin** as follows — **Vigrahēśvara-vratin**, his disciple **Yogēśvara-yati** and his disciple **Chamdramauli-yati**

Inscription B introduces, after prayer to the god **Telligēśvara**, mentioned above, **Vira-Bijjala** and **Vira-Vikrama** as sons of **Chāvunḍa** by **Sridēvi** and describes the elder of the two, namely **Vira-Bijjala**, as a great devotee of **Śiva** like **Nambi**² and **Ohila**³ and a scholar like **Bāna** (ll 1-4) His wife was **Tripurādēvi** (l 5) His brother **Vikrama** was a munificent donor and an invincible warrior looking majestic as if he was a *Chakravartin* (ll 6-9) In lines 10 12, the two brothers are mentioned with the usual titles, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Sāhasōtūmga*, etc., as ruling over **Kisukādu-70**, **Bāgaḍage-70**, **Keḷavaḍi-300**, **Nareyamgal-12** and **Karividi-3[0]** At the request of the Fifty Telligas and a certain **Mumjaya-Sāhaṇi** they are stated to have granted some land to the temple of **Telligēśvara** (ll. 13-16) on the date specified in lines 12 and 13

The details of the date given in A are — **Śaka 1088**, **Vyaya**, **Pushya amāvāsyā**, **Monday**, **Uttarāyana-samkrānti** and **vyatīpāta**. They are not quite regular The **Pushya amāvāsyā** ended on Sunday at .95 and the **Makara (Uttarāyana)-samkrānti** had occurred on **Mārgaśīrsha** ba 30, Saturday (24th December) The date intended probably was **Monday, 23rd January, A D. 1167** which was a day of **Kumbha-samkrānti** in **Uttarāyana**

The details of the date given in inscription B are — **Śaka 1109**, the cyclic year **Plavamga**, . . . **chaturdaśi**, **Monday**, **Samkrānti** According to **Swamikannu Pillai's Ephe-meris**, **chaturdaśi** combined with a **samkrānti** did not fall on Monday in any of the months of **Plavamga** But, for **Chaitra** śu 14 which was a day of **Mēsha-samkrānti**, the details would be correct except for the week day which was a Tuesday. The nearest equivalent would, therefore, be **24th March, A D 1187**

The two inscriptions under publication are important inasmuch as they furnish in unambiguous phraseology the genealogy of the **Sinda** princes of **Erambarage** from **Āchugi I** down to **Vira Bijjana** and **Vira-Vikramāditya**, sons of **Chāvunḍa II**. Inscription A reveals for the first time that **Perma** and **Chāvunda** were the sons of **Ācharasa II** from different mothers, viz, **Mahādēvi** and **Chandradēvi** respectively and thus supplements the information contained in the **Ron record**⁴ of A D 1180, where they are represented apparently as full brothers The genealogy given in A is in perfect agreement with the one gathered from the published records⁵ of the family, although an ambiguous verse in the **Pattadakal inscription**⁶ "*ālana tammam Simga-mahi-tala patiy=ālan=ātmajātam bhuvana-khyātam . . . negala=Ācharasam*" had led **Fleet**⁷ to introduce another **Simgi (II)** and make him the father of **Āchugi (II)** **Dr Barnett**

¹ This *matha* was, apparently, named after **Simha**, a brother of **Āchugi I**

² **Nambi** probably refers to **Sunderamūrti-Nāyanār** who was known as **Nambi Ārurar** See **Tamil Lexicon S, r**

³ **Ohila** was a great devotee of the god **Sōmanātha** in **Saurāshtra**. The story of his guileless devotion is narrated in the 43rd and 44th chapters of the **Basava Purānam** of **Bhīmakaṇṇa**

⁴ Above Vol XIX, p 227

⁵ So far, only eight records of the **Erambarage** branch of the **Sinda** princes are critically edited **J B R A S**, Vol. XI, pp 224 30, 239-42, 247 49, 253 55, 259 66, 274 75 (re edited in *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, p 96) and above Vols XV, p 109 and XIX, p 227

⁶ **J B R A S**, Vol XI, p 257

⁷ *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 573 Subsequently the mistake was rectified by him in a footnote on p 266 of *Ind. Ant*, Vol XXX.

who has written an excellent note on the Sinda chiefs in this journal¹, evidently followed Fleet in this respect, but, while editing the Sūdi inscription of the Kalachurya king Saṅkha-madēva, he felt the incongruity of this interpretation and remarked "it seems to confuse Āchugi's brother Singi I with the former's son Singhi II"² Since the Ron record edited by the same scholar states clearly that Ācharasa II was the son of Singa, a brother of Āchugi I, he has recognised this difference as being only a variant version of the pedigree recorded in the Sūdi inscription mentioned above. But it may be remarked that all the epigraphs, if understood properly with the aid of A, yield the same genealogy. The verse in praise of Āchugi II in A runs as follows —

ātan=anujātan=avanī-khyātam śrī-Simha-jā-
tan=ūddhata-rpu-samghāta-hatī-nīratam=
enūsidan=ātata-tējam pratāpadimā=Ācharasam (ll 13-14)

meaning that his (i.e., Bamarasa's) brother was the powerful Ācharasa who was the son of Simha. This statement is fully borne out by the relevant portion in the Sūdi inscription, viz.,³ *vistariśudud=alli Simgarasan=ātmajan=Āchugumandalēstaram* (l 24), i.e., among them (alli) Simgarasa's son was Āchugumandalēśvara. As Ācharasa II is thus described in unmistakable terms to be the son of Simha without introducing any prince of the latter name before, excepting Āchugi (I)'s brother Singa, there is no other alternative but to suppose that he was the son of this Singa and consequently a cousin of Bamarasa I. The expression 'ātana tamam' must, therefore, be taken to mean his brother, i.e., the brother of Āchugi I.

We know from inscriptions at Arasibīdi⁴ and Katgēri⁵ that Chāvunda had married three queens, namely, Dēmaladēvi, Lakshmādēvi and Siriyādēvi, of whom the last two were the daughters of the Kalachurya King Bijjala. He begot on Dēmaladēvi, Āchugi III and Permādi III and on Siriyādēvi, Vira-Vijjana and Vira-Vikrama, the donors of inscription B. Vira-Vijjana's queen was Tripurādēvi. The portion containing the name of Vikrama's wife is unfortunately broken off.

The Sinda chiefs who played an important part in the mediaeval history of Karpātaka began their political career as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi during the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. The first prince of the family was Āchugi I who is described in the Sūdi and Nidgundi inscriptions with the significant epithet "*ādīmandahlā*," thereby indicating that with him came into being the rule of the Sinda princes of Erambarage. From the fact that he is extolled as *Vikramādityana katid-alagu*⁷ (a sharpened sword-edge of Vikramāditya VI) and that his son Bamarasa was, according to an epigraph at Savadi,⁸ ruling Kisukādu and other provinces in the Chālukya Vikrama year 7 (A. D. 1083), the origin of the family as a ruling power may be placed in or about A. D. 1076, the year of Vikramāditya's accession to the throne. It is therefore not possible that the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Singanna-dēva of a Nidgundi inscription⁹ who was governing Kisukādu-70 in A. D. 1076 under Bhuvanaikamalladēva, could be identical with the Sinda prince Singa I as originally suggested by Fleet¹⁰ and still accepted by Dr. Barnett in his note referred to above. There is no evidence to show that Āchugi's brother Singa ruled at all whereas it can be definitely inferred from

¹ Above Vol. XIV, pp 268ff

² Above Vol. XV, pp 109

³ The expression *vistariśudud=alli* has been taken as one word and translated "In dwelling upon the excellence etc." See *ibid*, p 112. But it has to be split up into two words as *vistariśudud* and *alli*.

⁴ No 37 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29

⁵ No 151 of the same collection.

⁶ No 205 of the same collection for 1926-27

⁷ No 35 of the same collection for 1927-28 and the Sūdi inscription mentioned above

⁸ No. 2 of the same collection for 1927-28.

⁹ *Ibid* No 202 for 1927-28

¹⁰ *Dyn. Kan. Dist*, p 574. But he has doubted this identification in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 286.

inscription A that Bamarasa, the son and successor of Āchugi I was succeeded by Āchugi II, the son of Simha to whom there is only a passing reference¹ Bamarasa had, according to the Paṭṭadakal record, won the favour of the reigning sovereign, i.e., Vikramāditya VI and received from him a position of honour and rank in the State. His territory comprised Kṛṣṇakūṭa-70 and Narayamgaḷa-12² He appears to have died without issue as, otherwise, the Sinda throne would not have passed to the descendants of his uncle Simha From an inscription at Arasibidī³ which states that *Mahāmandalīśvara* [Ava]raraṣa was administering under Vikramāditya VI, Kṛṣṇakūṭa 70 and Karavīdi-30 in A D 1087, it may be surmised that at the time of Bamarasa's death, Āchugi II was either a minor or not powerful enough to assert the rights of his family. Subsequently, however, he appears to have acquired possession of his hereditary provinces through the favour of Vikramāditya, which, thereafter, continued in his line till the end. Only three dates⁴, viz., 1113-14, 1121-22 and 1125-26 are known for Āchugi II who defeated, for his master Vikramāditya VI, the Pāṇḍya, Hoysaḷa and other rebels Thus it may be stated that the three chiefs from Āchugi I to Āchugi II were the feudatories of the Western Chāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI and took a prominent part in the conquests of their overlord.

After Āchugi II, the two brothers Permāḍi⁵ and Chāvuṇḍa II held the Sinda territory as subordinates of Perma-Jagadēkamalla and Trailōkyamalla Taila III, respectively. It was during the latter's reign that the Chāḷukya dominions were usurped by Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa who is described in A as having dragged by force the lady of the Chāḷukya sovereignty. Permāḍi is stated in his inscriptions to have vanquished Kulaśekhara, besieged and decapitated Chatta pursued Jayakēśi and seized the royal power of Hoysaḷa Vishnuvardhana⁶ The Ron inscription adds that he "captured the Hoysaḷa king's elephants as well as his treasure-waggons" In the present record (A), however, the defeat of the Hoysaḷa king's army and the capture of his elephants are attributed to Chāvuṇḍa II for whom we have several dates ranging from A. D 1161⁷ to 1169-70 Besides, he is credited with having put to flight a certain Pāṇḍya chieftain named Kāmadēva These events must be different from those noticed above⁸ For, it is natural that the Hoysaḷa prince should again have risen in vengeance against the declining power of the Chāḷukyas and tried to assert independence and that the Sindas, as faithful servants of the Chāḷukyas, should have checked his aggression on the battle field And Kāmadēva, evidently Kāmadēva of Uchchangī, otherwise known as Vijayapāṇḍyadēva, who succeeded his brother Vira-Pāṇḍya sometime after A D 1148⁹ and lived on up to at least A D 1189¹⁰, was for a longer period a contemporary of Chāvuṇḍa II than of his elder brother Permāḍi It is worth noticing that Chāvuṇḍa, who had abstained from acknowledging the Kaḷachurya suzerainty in his earlier records dated before A D 1163,¹¹

¹ Not a single known inscription has described Simha independently except as the father of Ācharasa II This would suggest that he never enjoyed any power

² Savaḍi inscription referred to above.

³ No 35 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29

⁴ Ibid No 219 for 1926-27, J B R A S, Vol XI, p 247 and No 218 of the B K collection for 1926-27

⁵ An inscription at Kōḍikop bearing an impossible date in Śaka 872 introduces this prince as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI Since we know that his father Āchugi was living in A D 1125-26, the last year of Vikramāditya, it may be presumed that he ruled conjointly with his father or his father must have died in that year so that Permāḍi, who succeeded him, could become Vikramāditya's feudal chief.

⁶ *Dyn Kan Dist*, p 575

⁷ No 37 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29

⁸ These exploits of Chāvuṇḍa do not find mention in other records of himself or of his sons Excepting the defeat of Kāmadēva which is nowhere ascribed to Permāḍi, the rest might as well be supposed to have been achieved by Chāvuṇḍa in conjunction with his elder brother as the latter is known to have accomplished similar acts

⁹ *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p 161

¹⁰ *Dyn. Kan. Dist*, p 466.

¹¹ No 147 of the B. K. collection for 1928-29. See also *Dyn. Kan. Dist*, p 462.

though it was well established by then, had begun to recognise it by A D 1167, as is evident from the preamble to the grant portion of inscription A. It appears that he was holding the reins of government in conjunction with his sons Āchugi and Permāḍi in A D 1163 when the Pattadakal inscription was engraved. It is not known under what circumstances the Sinda chieftdom passed to the sons of Siriyādēvi after the death of Chāvunda II.

Chāvunda's rule must have ended in A D 1169-70, for we find his sons Vira-Bijjana and Vira-Vikrama ruling over Kīśukāḍu-70, Bāgadage-70, and Kelavadi-300 in A D 1170 as recorded in the Aihole inscription¹ dated in Virōdhin, corresponding to the 94th year of the Chālukya Vikrama era, whereas an epigraph from Hirēmannūr² bearing the date Śaka 1091 (A D 1169) introduces Chāvunda as a donor of some gift. Further the Harti inscription³ of Vira-Bijjana dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in his 7th year fixes the date of his access on sometime in Virōdhin. Vira-Bijjana and Vira-Vikrama appear to have ruled conjointly as is shown by the preamble to inscription B which states that both the princes were ruling together from their capital at Erambarage. This is corroborated by other inscriptions also.⁴ There are, however, a few epigraphs⁵ which were issued by the two brothers independently of each other. But this does not vitiate the above conclusion inasmuch as joint rulers could make donations separately as well. There are reasons to hold that the two princes were very young when they were invested with power. Two inscriptions at Nidgundi⁶ with dates in Śaka 1094 (A D 1172) and Śaka 1096 (A D 1174) style them as *kumāras* and introduce *pa'amshādēvi* Siriyādēvi as making some gifts in conjunction with her two children. This seems to indicate that their mother Siriyādēvi was actually governing the Sinda territory as regent during their minority.⁷ That they were children then, as said above, is rendered quite probable by a record⁸ of A D 1220 in which year Vikramāditya was still holding the Sinda dominions under the Yādava Simgaṇadēva, after a rule of not less than fifty years.

It is significant to note that inscription B does not mention any overlord but proceeds to describe the two brothers straightaway as if they were independent rulers. After the Kaḷachurya usurpation which lasted for twenty years, the Sindas retransferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas under Sōmēśvara IV, who revived his ancestral sovereignty in A D 1183. Sometime after this date, the Chālukya territory appears to have again become a prey to the constant attacks of the Yādavas of Dēragiri on the north and the Hoysalas of Dvārasmudra on the south. During this period of turmoil, the Sinda princes must have declared independence. This is indicated by the expression "*Chakravartī-padaṇī-patīy=inn=īlan=enal=eseran=uruvī=īhyāta-yasam Vira-Vikramāvanipālām*" in inscription B which means that the powerful Vikrama was then the fit person to bear the title of *Chakravartin*. But this independence did not continue long, for we find from the Amnigere and Gadag inscriptions of Yādava Bhīllamadēva, dated respectively in A D 1189 and 1191, that the Yādava king held the country south of the Malaprabhā and Kṛṣṇā as well as the northern provinces,⁹ thus precluding the possibility of the Sindas remaining free and unassailed. Since Jaitugi counts his reign from the latter date, Bhīllama must have died in that year probably in an encounter with Vira-Ballāja. This is proved by the existence of Vira-Ballāja's record at Gadag.

¹ J B B R A S, Vol. XI, pp 274. It was re-edited more correctly in *Ind Ant*, Vol LX, p 96.

² No. 4 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.

³ No 57 of 1926-27 of the same collection.

⁴ *Ibid*, No 221 of 1926-27.

⁵ Ben and Harti inscriptions mentioned above.

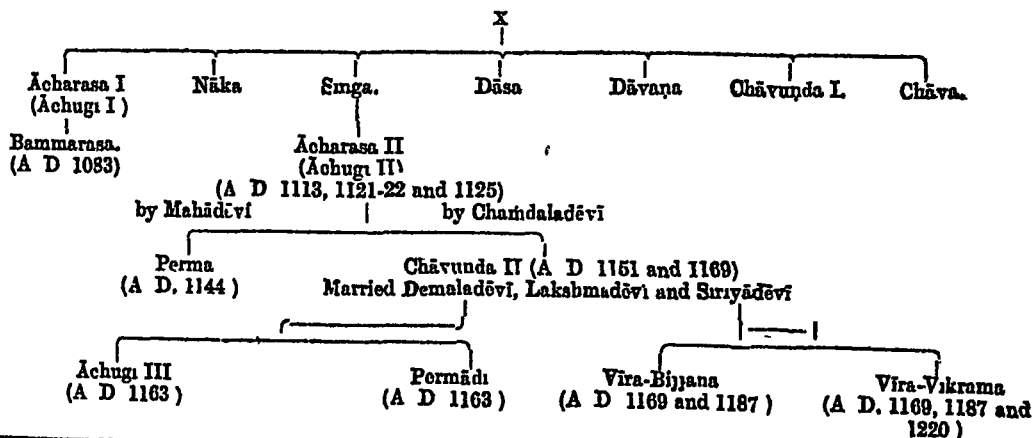
⁶ Nos 203 and 205 of 1926-27 of the Bombay Karnatak collection.

⁷ *Ibid*, No. 35 of 1927-28.

⁸ *Dyn. Kan Dist*, p 504.

itself dated in A D 1192 and by the statements contained in his Anjugere inscription¹ of A. D. 1202 representing Bhīllama as having been killed in the fight. The Harihar inscription of his son Narasimha II adds to his father's conquests the capture of all the strongholds between Soratūr, Erambarage, Kurugōḍ, Gutti, Belhittage, etc.² From this it is evident that Vira-Ballāja had successfully wrested from the Yādava king some portion of the territory which the latter had taken from Sōmēśvara IV, subjugated the Sindas of Erambarage and made them pay homage to his banner. The Yādavas, however, were not keeping quiet all this while. They were biding time to reclaim the lost country. Jartugi's son Singanadēva who carried his conquests far and wide led an expedition against the Hoysalas during the last days of Vira-Ballāja and snatched back from him the portion of land lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā and Malaprabhā and even extended his arms farther south as is proved by his inscription at Baḷagāmve³ in Mysore, dated in A D 1215. This event must have taken place in or about A D. 1210 for, an epigraph at Dōni⁴ states that the sixteenth year of Singanadēva's entry into that tract corresponded to the cyclic year Vijaya (A D 1226). This statement proves that the Yādavas were once again in possession of the territory under contest which must have included Kīśukādu-70 of the Sindas. That the Sinda chiefs became their subordinates and continued to acknowledge their suzerainty till the end is clear from a stone record at Kalakappanaguḍḍa⁵ in which the Sinda Vikramāditya figures as a feudatory of Singanadēva in the latter's 21st regnal year falling in Vikrama, i.e., A D 1220. Nine years later, we find Mahāpradhāna Vāsudēva-Nāyaka ruling under the orders of Simhana, Erambarage "which had caused itself to be called the capital of Kīśukādu-70"⁶. Presumably the Sinda prince Vikrama had passed away between A D 1220 and 1229 and his territory was then annexed to the Yādava kingdom, thus ending the rule of the Sinda chiefs after a glorious career of about 150 years.

From the facts set forth in the foregoing pages, a revised genealogy of the Sinda princes with dates is reconstructed below for the sake of ready reference.



¹ No 193 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29. Among the descriptive epithets applied to Vira-Ballāja in this record occurs the expression "*Bhīllama-bala-jaladhī-baḍavānaḥ*".

² *Dyn Kan Dist*, p 504

³ *Dyn Kan Dist*, p 505

⁴ No 79 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak collection. See also *A S. R.*, 1927-28, p 141.


⁵ No 35 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.



⁶ No 200 of 1926-27 of the same collection.


The following places and subdivisions are mentioned in the two records —the celestial Amarāvati, Āyōdhye, Madhure, Ujjayinī, Erambarāpuram, Kallūru, Kīśukādu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Ke'avadi-300, Nareyamgal-12 and Karividi-30. Of these Kallūru is the modern village of that name near Mushigēri in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwar district. On Kīśukādu-70 and Karividi-30 see Fleet's exhaustive note in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXX, pp 259 ff. Bāgaḍage-70 comprised a portion of the modern Bāgalkot taluk in the Bijāpur district with Bāgaḍage, i.e., Bāgalkot as its chief town. Kelavadi-300 derived its name from its chief place Kelavadi which is at present a small village in the Bādāmi taluk of the Bijāpur district. Nareyamgal-12 was a small circle of villages with its headquarters at Nareyamgal, i.e., the modern Naregal in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwar district. The remaining places are too well known to require any remarks.

TEXT.


A

- 1 Namas=tumga-śiraś-chumbi chandra-chāmara-chāravē | traīōkya-nagar-ārambha-mūḷa-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1]** Vṛi || Viluṭhat-pāthina-puchchha- sphurita-
- 2 gurutar - āsphāṇa - sphāra-kōḷāhala-nuryyad-dhairyya-nakra-krama-kashana-nishamṇ - ōru-nīrēbha-bhīkṣich-chaḷa-hast-āghāta-masta-
- 3 prakathūpa-kamatha-bhrāmti-nirmukta-mukt-āviḷa-vichī-samchayaśṇ kang=esedudu bahaḷa-dhvāna-raudram samudram || [2]** Tad-vārdhī-chāru-pa-(S)
- 4 rikhā-sadvaḷayrtam=enisi nāde sogayisuvudu Jambūdīpa-v=ali chāru-kubhṛid-
varan=ene nāde Mēru-giri ramjusugum || [3]** Ā Kanak-ādri-
- 5 ya temkal=Bhū-kāmtā-kuntaḷ-ōpamaśṇ Kuntalav=amt=ā kāmṭa-vishaya-rakshakar=I
Kalyugadallī puttadar=Chālukyar || [4]** Ā Chālukya-mahī-
- 6 śarimḍe baḷiyum durvṛittaram geldu dhātṛi-chakram neṛe bampṇsal-bhujā-
baḷ-āvashtambhadim Kumtal-ōrvī-chamchach-chatur-ānganā-kacha-samākaraśḥa(S)
- 7 graham Bijjapa-śrī-chakrēśvaran=oppurippan=adatam vidviṣhta-viddrāvaṇam ||
[5]** Tach-chakravarttiy=aḷiyam sach-charitam viśada-kirtti Chāvurūḍa-nṛipam
michchata-
- 8 gaḷi Kali-kāla-viyach-charan=ene pesarin=eśevan=I vasumatīyol || [6]**
Ā mahānubhāvan=anvay-āvatārav=emt=emdaḍe  Āchu-
- 9 gi-bhūmi-pāḷana sah-ōdarar=apratima-pratāpa-bhūp-āchala-vajra-damḍar=ene Nāka-
nṛipam nṛipa-tumga Sūḷgan=ātm-ōchita-vikra-
- 10 mam negaḷda Dāsarasam kaḷi Dāvaṇam jaya-śrī-chatura-priyaśṇ vibhu
Chavūḍarasam guṇu Chāva-bhūbhujam || [7]** Avarolage || Ahit-ōdyad(S)-
- 11 baḷa-jālakam kadanadoḷ=māṛāntu tāgal=mahā-mahimam sūḷge-goṇḍu kōpad-odaviṣ
komḍ=akki vidviṣhtaraśṇ mahiyol=tāḷdi sudh-ām-
- 12 śu-nurmmaḷa-yaśah-śrī-kāmtiyam samtatam mahaniyam kaḷi Chaumda-bhūpan-
eśevaśṇ śrī-Sirīḍa-varhā-ōdbhavaśṇ || [8]** Ka || Avarolag=Āchara-saṅg=ū
(S)-
- 13 dbhavāsīdan=adhika-pratāpa-nidhi jaya-lakṣmī-pravaṇam Barhamarasam kirtti-viḷāsam
Sūḷda-vārdhī-vārdhāna-chāṇḍram || [9]** Ātan=anujātan=avam-khyātam(S)
- 14 śrī-Sirīḍa-jātan=uddhata-ripu-saṅghāta-hati-nṛatan=enisīdan=avata-tējam pra-
tāpadumḍ=Ācharasaśṇ || [10]** Ant=enisīd=Ācha-bhūpana kāmte
- 15 dayā-vamte bhāgya-vamte nṛtāmtam śānte naya-vamte sat-kuḷa-vamte
Mahādēviy=emba pesarimḍ=eśevaḷ || [11]** Vṛi || Ācha-mahūbhujangava-
eśev=ā

- 16 Mahadēvigav=udgha-vikraman̄ khē-ohara-kirtti sambhavisidam kali Permma-
mahidharan̄ manōjñ-ācharaṇam raṇ-ōddhata-viruddha-nripāḷaka-jāḷa-bā-
17 ḷikā-lōchana-nirgaḷad-vimala-lōḷa-jal-āṇḷa-saṅgar-āṅgaṇam || [12||*] Ā Permma-
bhūpan=anujar̄ rūpa-Manōjar̄ manōjña guṇa-gana-yu-
18 ktaṇ vōpita-ripu-nripa hrday-ālāpam Chāvumḍa-maṇḍaḷ-ēsam negaḷdam || [13||*]
Mandara dhairyyam ripu-nripa-bṛinda-śirah-karṇduk-āḷi-kēḷi-ka-
19 ḷitam Chamḍaladēvī-sutan=amaḷ-ēmd-ūjvaḷa-kirttiy=enisidam Chāvumḍam || [14||*]
Munis=ābhīḷa-nripāḷa-mēgha-pataḷa-prōtsāra-jham-
20 jhānḷam vanadhi-prāvṛta-kirtti sām̄dra-vikīrat-kāḷēya-pāp āndhakāra-nirās-ōjvaḷa
chamdra-didhiti lasad-dānar̄ budha-brāta(S)-
21 dausthya-nag-ōdbhēdana-vajrav=āḷal=csevar̄ Chāvumḍa-bhūpāḷakar̄ || [15||*]
Samar-ōdyad-baḷa-Hoysala-kshitipa-sēn-ānikam=omd-āḷi
22 vikramadim tāge parākrama-krama-yutam Simd ānvay-āmbhōdhi-cham̄draman=
ērvvaṭti tad-īsanam maledar̄an̄ komd=ugra-matta-ē-
23 bha-saṅghaman=ādār̄ pīḍdam pratāpa-tapanar̄ Chāvumḍa-bhūpāḷakam || [16||*]
Vṛi || Bhirugaḷar̄ śaraṇ-buguvarar̄ bhayad=uṭṭudan=ikkī milu-
24 varar̄ vāruvaduhd=iḷa-taḷake vapparan=ānt-iṇṇyalke pēsī sad-vīraran=eyde
komd=cseva mīsegalim huri-gomḍa gamḍa pemḍāra-
25 man=āḷda Simd-kuḷa-marḍananoḷ paḍiy=appa gamḍar=ār || [17||*] Nija-
chāturbhaḷa-garbbadar̄ bhuja-baḷa-prakshōbbhadim Pāmdyan=āḷi-jay-ā-
26 kāmksheyin=eyde vamdu kaḍupimdam tāḷge Chāvumḍa-bhūbhujan=ēk.
āmgade gelda saṇyaman=adar̄ kamḍ=uṭṭudam biṭtu nirvviyayam
27 Kāma-nripāḷan=ōḍidan=avam bemgotṭu kāḷ-vaṭṭeyim || [18||*] 
- Vam̄dita[v=I]mdranim̄dav=Amarāvati Rāghavanim̄d=Ayōdhye
28 Gōvīmdanin=uḷvaḷan-Madhure Guttanin=Ujjayanī-puram Marum-namdananim̄de
Hastinapurar̄ neḷe ram̄jisuv-ante saṇtatam Simd-Chavumḍa-
29 bhūbhujanin=oppaman=āḷdud=Erām̄barāpurar̄ || [19||] Dēvakulam̄galim [va
vadhūḷ]kuḷa-harmmya-śatam̄galim xahidēva-griham̄galim Dhana-
30 pati-prabha-vaiśya-kadamba-gēhadim pāvanavat-tapō-vana-tapō-dhana-śāḷegāḷim̄de
kange-vamd=i vasudh-āgradoḷ sale virājisut-irppu-
31 d=Erām̄barāpurar̄ || [20||*]  Allī || Telligar=ayvatt=okkal=sal-lalita-guṇ
āḍhyar=Abhava-pada-yuga-vimal-ōtphulla-sarasī(ī)-ja-shaṭ-padar=ullasi-
32 ta-sit-ābhra-kirtti-vallabhar=enipar || [21||*] Mattam || Vṛi || Śaraṇ-āyāt-ādri-
rakshā-kshama-saradhgaḷ=uddamḍa-viḍviṣṭa-dusṭ-ōtkara-
33 kām̄tāra-pradāha-prabaḷatara-mah-ōgr-āṇaḷar=Sambhu-śumbhach-charaṇ-āmbhōjāta-gum̄jat-
su-ruchirātara-rōḷamba-
34 remd=emdu bhāsvad-dhārey=aivatt=okkalam takkeran=atīsayadim kirttikum
mechchi mechham || [22||*] Sujana-stutyar=ssu(su) satya-bratar=aparim̄t-
āchāra-sad-dharmma-
35 varummar=ṇṇ(nṇ)ja-kām̄t-ānēmta-mōḍa-pramudita-vimāḷa-svām̄tar=ētmīya-dēva dvīja pād-
āmbhōja-pūjā-niratar=enute kay-vā(S)-
36 radim̄ kūḍe baṇdhū-brajav=aivatt=okkalam bannipud=avan-taḷam mechche
s ānam̄dadim̄daḷa || [23||*] Va || Aṇtu pogalte-vaḍed=aivatt=okkalgaḷ=ēḷa sīha-
37 r-āḷ=ḷi=Erām̄barāpurad-īśāna-āḷig-viḷbh-āgradoḷ Telligōsvara-dēvara pratisḷ-
ṭhoyar̄ tad-dēv-āyatanamumam māḍḍadar=ā sthānad=ā-

- 38 chāryyar=appa Chamdramaulidēvara guruku|ānvayav=em̄t=em̄dade || Maṭh-
neya-va|iyol=ati-stutan=umnata-yaśa(S)-
- 39 n=āśrit-āśrayam kali-kāl-ōtpamna-Laku|śan=enipam samnuta-matī Vīgra-
hēśvara-bratī ti|akam || [24||*] Tat-pāda-kamala-sēvā-tatpa-
- 40 ran=anavadya-charitan=Amgaja-kudhar-ō(r)dyat-pavi Yōgēśvarayati sat-puṇyam
Lāku|āgam-āmbuja-mitram || [25||*] Ā munimukhyana
- 41 śiṣyam bhū-mahitam naiṣṭhik-āgra-gaṇyam vibudha-stōma-sura-bhūjan=
Amgaja sāmaja-gaja-vaīri Chamdramauli-yatīmdram || (S) [26||*]
- 42 Nīja-dān-ōmnatī kalpa-bhūja tatīyam mūla-bratam stutya-Vāyu-jaṇam sat
yav=anum̄dya-Satyatapanam gāmbhīryav=ambhōdhiyam tṛi(tri)-jagad-byā-
- 43 pta-yasam śaś āmka-ruchiyam ki|l-māde rārājipam vijit-ōdyat Kali
Chamdramauli-yatipam vidvāj-jaṇ-aik-āśrayam || [27||*] 
- 44 Vachana || Svasti [||*] Samasta bhuvan-āśrayam Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha ma-
hārāj-ādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhattārakaṁ Rājachuriya-kula-
- 45 kamala-mārttarīdārā kadana-prachamdam nām-ādi-samasta-praśasti-sahitam
śrī-mat-Tribhuvanamalla Bijjanadēvara vijaya-rājyam=u-
- 46 tter-ōttar-ābhavyiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chamdr-ārka tārām saluttam=ire [||*]
S(ś)aka-varsha 1088-neya Vyaya-samvatsarada Puṣyad-~~am~~āvāsyā (S)
- 47 Sōmavārav-uttarāyana-samkrāntī byatipātad=amdu śrī-mat-Telligēś
varadēvaraggo Telligar-ayvatt=okkalga|ēka-stharāgi Simhēśva-
- 48 rada maṭhad=āchāryyar=appa Chamdramaulidēvara kālam karohchi
dhārā-pūrvvakam māḍi bitt=āyav=em̄t=em̄dade [||*] Damḍin=okkalum talad=o-
- 49 kkalum devasav=alav=emne gānadalli soḷasav=eraḍu dēva-gāṇad=okkalalli
devasav=aḷav=emne soḷasav=omdu chaitra-pavitramga(S)-
- 50 loḷu gānadalli viṣav=aḍu gāṇam mettavaralli viṣav=aḍu mathakke
bamd=abhyāgataralli nadava maṇuṣhyar=āhāra-dānake tūṅgaḷung=okka-
- 51 lga|oḷ jōla kolagav=om̄du Kallūra batteyyar paḍuvala namd=iruva
tōmtar mattar=om̄du Dipāvalya parvvalalli(S)-
- 52 y=okkalol=emne māṇav=om̄du maḷigeyolag=anūrvvar=Svāmiga| bitt=āyam homge
kottavaralli=adakey=om̄du komḍava(S)-
- 53 ralliy=adakey=om̄du episida dhorega|alli pratyēkav=adakey=om̄du tam-
buligarv=vitt=āyam bhamdig=ele nūru hē-
- 54 rṁge nūru tale-voreg=ay(ai)vattu dēvara mumdaṇ=amgaḍiy=eraḍu ||

B.

- 1  Śrī-vidita-Telligēśvaradēvam manam=osedu kuduge rājya-śrī-
- 2 yam [||*] bhū-vinuta-Vīra-Bijjaladēvamgam Vīra-Vikrama-kṣatīpamgam
[||*] Nuta-guna-Chāvarud-ōrvvī-patigam Sridēvigam kumārar=kkam-
[ṇuḥ] [||*] gatiyum=e-
- 3 ne puttidar=b(h)bhūpati-Bijjala-Vīra-Vikram-āvanipālaru || [2||*] Avaroju
pūyam Bhāv-ōdbhava-rūpam Vīra-Bijjaṇ ṓrvvī-nātkam [||*] Śiva pada-
pamkaja-shatpadan=akhiḷa-stuta-kī-

lady, the land of Kumtala by resorting to strength of arms, after conquering the refractory (*chiefs*) so as to be highly praised by the whole circle of Earth

V. 6 The son-in-law of the emperor was the well-behaved prince Chāvunda of white fame, a tough warrior, renowned on earth as a Gandharva of the Kali age As regards the genealogy of that high souled (*hero*)

V. 7. King Āchuga's brothers, viz, prince Nāka, Simga, the chief of kings, the famous Dāsarasa endowed with valour befitting his rank, the valiant Dāvana, king Chāvundarasa, a handsome lover of victory and prosperity and the virtuous prince Chāva were (*powerful*) like a thunderbolt to mountains, the kings of uncomparable prowess Among them

V. 8 the brave king Chaunda, born of the Sinda family, ever praiseworthy shines on earth with the splendour of fortune and fame unsullied like the nectar-rayed (*moon*), looting and crushing the foes in furious rage when the confederacy of hostile armies met him in fight

V. 9 Among them, to Ācharasa was born Bammārāsa, a moon to increase the ocean, the Sinda (*in age*), brilliant with fame, a repository of great prowess and endeared to victory and wealth

V. 10 His younger brother was Ācharasa of exceeding splendour who, born of the illustrious Siniha and renowned on earth was, on account of his valour, (*known to be*) ever engaged in killing the hosts of haughty foes

V. 11 The wife of Ācha-bhūpa, thus described, was known by (*lit* shone with) the name Mahādēvī and was of noble family, prudent, extremely calm in disposition, kind and possessed of good fortune

V. 12 To king Ācha and the beautiful Mahādēvī was born the powerful prince Perma, famed like a Gandharva, exceedingly brave, pleasing in conduct, who rendered the battlefields impure with pure and rolling tears proceeding from the eyes of the young wives (*lit*-girls) of the collection of enemy kings who rose in battle

V. 13 The younger brother of that Perma-bhūpa was the renowned chief Chāvunda a Cupid in form, possessed of a number of excellent qualities and who was a woe to the trembling hearts of the enemy kings

V. 14 Chāvunda, son of Chamdaladēvī, courageous like Mount Mandara and expert in playing with the rows of balls, the heads of the groups of hostile kings, attained fame glowing like the clear moon

V. 15 The king Chāvunda was, when exasperated, a storm to disperse the gathering of clouds, the formidable hostile kings, a brilliant ray of the moon to remove the enveloping and dense darkness, the sins of the Kali age, with fame encompassing the oceans (*A bestower*) of magnificent gifts he shone like a bolt to tear asunder the mountains, the vanities of groups of scholars

V. 16. When the army of the Hoysala king who had prepared himself for battle met him bravely with a united front, prince Chāvunda, the moon in the ocean of the Sinda family stepping forth valiantly (*lit* with valorous steps) rushed through, burning like the sun, killed its general and other opponents and, further, captured groups of fierce and intoxicated elephants

V. 17. What hero, indeed, would equal the ornament of the Sinda family who was the master of valiant marauders that stimulated themselves by twisting their moustaches after destroying completely brave warriors, feeling disgusted to fight and kill those that were timid, those that sought his protection, those that cast away their garment through fear and stood (*helpless*) and those that got down on earth from horse (*back*) ?

V. 18 Puffed up at (*the strength of*) his fourfold army and reaching with the might of his arms the Pāṇḍya chieftain started immediately and met king Chāvunda with force to conquer him

(Chāvunda) conquered (his) army single-handed. Seeing it king Kāma threw off his garment and losing (hopes of) victory fled by the forest track turning his back

V. 19 Just as Amarāvati looked ever beautiful with Indra who was bowed to (*by all*), Ayōdhyā with the descendant of Raghu (*i.e.*, Rāmachandra), the lovely Mathurā with Gōvinda, Ujjayini with Gutta and Hastināpura with the son of Marut (*i.e.*, Bhīmasēna), so also Erambarāpura attained much gracefulness with the Sinda chief Chāvunda.

V. 20 Erambarāpura shines greatly on the face of this charming earth with temples, numerous palaces containing groups of maidens, houses of gods on earth, *i.e.*, Brāhmanas, and of the hosts of Vaiśyas who resembled Kubēra (*in wealth*) and with the hermitages of ascetics in sacred groves of penance

V 21 There, Fifty Families of Telligas (*i.e.*, oilmen), endowed with pleasing virtues and possessing brilliant fame (*bright*) as white clouds, were like bees on the pure and full-blown lotuses, the two feet of Śiva

V 22 Further, the bright Earth is ever pleased with the deserving Fifty Families and praises them high saying "they are like the ocean capable of protecting the mountains, the refugees, like the intensely furious conflagration powerful enough to burn away the forests, the turbulent foes and chief villains, and like the handsome bees humming in the lotuses, the beautiful feet of Śambhu

V 23. Groups of (*their*) relatives extol with gestures of hands the Fifty Families so as to be well appreciated by the whole world saying, "They are worthy of praise by the good, avowedly truthful, armoured with piety and inestimable conduct, gladdened in their pure hearts at the innumerable delights of their wives and are ever busy in the worship of the lotus feet of gods and of *divyas*".

Lines 36-38. The Fifty Families, thus praised, assembled and performed the installation of god Telligēśvara in the north-east quarter of Erambarāpura and also constructed a temple for the deity To describe the succession in the family of the preceptor of Chamdra-maṇḍēva, the āchārya of that temple.—

V. 24. There was an ornament of ascetics named Vighrēśvara of much extolled intellect, who was greatly praised in (*his*) respectable family¹, an abode of refugees, and was known as Lakūṣa born in the Kālī age

V 25 The meditator on his lotus feet was the righteous Yōgēśvarayati of blameless conduct, a bolt lifted up at the mountain, the Cupid, a sun to the lily of Lākūṣagama (*i.e.*, works of the Lākūṣa sect).

Vv 26 and 27 The disciple of that excellent *guru* was the best *yati* called Chamdramaṇḍi, the sole resort of learned men, who has conquered the rising Kālī, his generosity surpassed the group of desire-yielding trees, his vow of (*substantive an*) roots, the praiseworthy son of Vāyu (*i.e.*, Hanūmān), his truthfulness, the unblamable Satyatapa, his serenity, the ocean and his fame pervading the three worlds, the lustre of the moon

Ll 44 46. Hail ! When the victorious reign of the illustrious Tribhuvanamaṇḍa Bijjapa-dēva, an asylum of the whole world, Lord of Fortune and Earth, possessed of all the laudatory titles like Mahārājadhīrāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhāṣāraka, a sun to the lotus of the Kālī-churiya family, terrible in fight, was advancing in the course of continuously increasing prosperity as long as the sun and the moon last,

¹ Manneya may also be taken to mean a particular sub division of the teacher's lineage.

Ll. 46-48 On Monday, the new-moon day of Pushya, which was the day of Uttarāyana-samkrānti and Vyatipāta in the cyclic year Vyaya corresponding to the Śaka year 1088, the Fifty Families of Telligas met together and granted the following income with the pouring of water to the glorious god Telligēśvara after laving the feet of Ghandramaṇi-dēva, the āchārya of Simhēśvara matha

Ll. 44-52 Each family in Cantonment and Town (*should*) each day measure out two solasa of oil for an oilmill in the family (*main'aining*) the god's oil mill, oil measuring one solasa (*should be received*), five viśas on an oil mill for (*the offering of*) chaṭra and pavitra, and five viśas from every one of those that press the mill, one bolaga of pūṣṭy per month from each family for conducting the feeding of people (i.e., guests) that come to the matha, one mattar of garden situated at west of the path leading to Kallūru, on the sacred occasion of Dipāvahī, one māna of oil from each family (*should be received*).

Ll. 52-54 The income granted by the Five hundred stāmins in (*their*) storehouse for every gold coin, one areca-nut from sellers and one from buyers, one areca-nut from the counting officers each time (*they count*) The income granted by the dealers in betel-leaves a hundred leaves for one cartload, a hundred for a bullock-load, fifty for a man's load and two shops in front of the temple

B.

Verse 1. May the glorious and famous god Telligēśvara grant with kindness the prosperity of kingdom to the world-renowned Bijjaladēva and king Vira-Vikrama.

V. 2 There were born to king Chāvunda of reputed virtues and to Śrīdēvi (*two*) sons namely, king Bijjala and king Vira-Vikrama as if they were the (*two*) eyes or (*two*) goals of life (*of their parent's*)

V. 3 Of them, the elder was prince Bijjala, a Cupid in form, a bee in the lotus feet of Śiva, with fame sung by all and an ocean of polity.

V. 4. King Vira-Bijjala trusted Śiva like Nambi and was like Ōhula, a devotee who did not observe any religious rites—what more—he was learned like Bāṇa

V. 5 This prince Vira-Bijjala of increasing fame, a shaft in the hearts of his foes and an expert, forsooth, in the sixty-four arts was the husband of Tripurādēvi.

V. 6 King Vira-Vikrama looks majestic with fame extolled on earth . . . as if he was then the (proper) lord (*to bear*) the title of Chakravartin

V. 7. If (*the name of*) a tiger is taken (*to compare his valour with*) he would mock at it, he would host of serpents, oppose in a fitting manner . . . and cow down the Death God. O! God! Vira-Vikrama is indeed a veritable warrior

V. 8 Who, indeed, can survive . . . (*after witnessing*) the force of the prowess of his arms? Who does not shrink in power? Who does not run away helpless after opposing (*him*) in battle? Who does not tremble or be perturbed in mind and will not offer everything of his own? What person is there that does not stretch his hands for the gifts of the renowned Vira-Vikrama?

V. 9. The powerful chief Vira-Vikrama gives (*gifts*) to one that praises him, protects if one seeks his shelter and is a beautiful swan to the lotus plant. dēvi who equalled Lakshmi.

Lines 10-12 Hail! When the illustrious Mahāmandalēśvara, Sāhasōttunga, Bhujabala. king ladēva and Vira-Vikramadēva, possessed of all the laudatory *virudās*, were ruling in their capital Erambarage, with the diversion of pleasant conversation, Kīṣukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Kelavaḍi-300, Nareyaṅgal-12 and Kariviḍi-3[o],

Ll. 12-16 On Monday, the auspicious day of Samkrānti, the fourteenth day in the cyclic year Plavamga, corresponding to the Śaka year 1109, Bijjaladēva

and *Vīra-Vikramadēva* granted at the request of the Fifty Families as *sarva-namasya*, with the pouring of water and with immunity from all claims, twelve *mallar* of land field by the pole (*measuring*) twenty-seven (?) spans, on the north of the land of god Jagatēśvara, to god Telligōśvara of Eraṁbarage, the fortunate town existing from times immemorial (*anādi paṭṭana*), and at the request of Muṁjaya-Sāhaṇi, one *mallar* of paddy land to the west

No 13.—DABOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADEVA ; [HARSHA—]
SAMVAT 207

By

R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

This inscription was found engraved on a large stone lying in a field at the village of Dabōk, eight miles to the east of Udaipur in Mewār. It was removed to the Udaipur Museum by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha, and I edit it from the ink-impression, which he so kindly placed at my disposal.¹ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has noticed it in this journal.²

The record contains fifteen lines of writing covering a space of about 3 ft. 6 ins × 1 ft. 7 ins. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, commonly known as *Kuṭila lipi*. They are almost similar to the Jodhpur Inscription³ of Pratihāra Bāuka. Palæographically, the inscription is important, as the date given in it contains the letter-symbol of 200, which is worth noting. The language is incorrect Sanskrit and, excepting the two imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noted—consonants are doubled after *r*, as in *Durgādēvyā* (l. 4), *-mārgga* (l. 9), etc., and before *r*, as in *-puttra* (l. 2), *kshēltram* (l. 5), etc., *s* is written for *ś*, as in *°svarasya* and *sāradya* (l. 4), and for *sh*, as in *°śēdhyō-* (l. 13), *-aṭavīsv-a-* (l. 14), etc.; the *anusvāra* is used for *n* in *asmim-* (l. 1), *-chamdrārka-* (l. 11), etc., and is redundant in *-vṛdhyartham* (l. 11), and *haram-* (l. 15), *m* is written for *v* in *-nīmī* (l. 3), etc.; rules of *sandhi* are, as a rule, violated in almost all the lines. The *upadhmāniya* is used in *punar-ādadita* (l. 14). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The inscription is of the time of *Srī-Dhavalappadēva*, who, as shown by the titles *Paramabhāṣāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, appears to have been a paramount chief. The record is dated in the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the Samvat 207. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of some fields and, probably, shops, too, by Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadāman, a resident of Dhavagartā (the present town of Dhōṭ in the Jhāzpur district of the Udaipur State) to the temples of the god Mahāmahēśvara and the goddess Durgā called Ghaṭṭavāsini.

As the era to which the year belongs has not been specified, the date cannot be ascertained with certainty. The characters, however, are of a period not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D. In consideration of this fact, the date can be referred to the Harsha era, in which several other inscriptions⁴ of Rājputānā are dated. In that case the date would correspond to Monday, the 8th August A. D. 813. The family to which Dhavalappadēva belonged is not mentioned in this inscription. From the Dhanōp inscription⁵ of Chachcha, dated Samvat 1063

¹ The impression is not very clear. Consequently the reading is not free from doubt in several places.

² Above Vol. XII, p. 11.

³ Above Vol. XVIII, pp. 87 ff.

⁴ See *Annual Reports of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for 1916-17 and 1910-20, 4(b) L.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 174.

(A D 1006), we know that the Rāshtrakūtas were ruling over Rājputānā in the eleventh century A D. We also know from the Sirūr inscription¹ of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha I that Gōvīndarāja III conquered Kēraḷa, Mālava, Gurjara, etc., as far as Chitrakūta (Chitōr in Mewār). This would show that the Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan held their sway over some parts of Rājputānā in the beginning of the ninth century A D. Possibly the Rāshtrakūtas of Dhanōp, which is near Mewār, were related to the Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan, and Dhavalappadēva may also have been related to them. His name seems to be of South-Indian² origin.

The epigraph under notice describes Dhanika as the son of Guhila, who then ruled over Dhavagartā (l 2). The Chātsū inscription³ of Bālāditya mentions a Dhanika as the son of Guhila. One Dhanika figures as a local ruler in the inscription⁴ dated Samvat 887 (A D 830), recently discovered at Nāsūn in the Kharwā estate in Ajmer-Merwara, but, there, he is described as the father of Īśānabhata. The Dhanika of the Chātsū inscription was the great-grandson of Īśānabhata. Consequently there must have been two Dhanikas and two Īśānabhatas.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows —

After making an obeisance to the god Śiva and giving the date as the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the samvat 207 (200 in letter-symbol and 7 in figure), the first five lines state that, during the reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Dhavalappadēva, Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadāman of the Kāyastha family and an inhabitant of Dhavagartā, which was being ruled over by Dhanika, a Guhilot, made permanent endowments of some *śāradyagraishmīla* fields (the fields that can be tilled in autumn as well as in summer) to two temples—one of Mahāmahēśvara established by him (Giyaka) and the other of Durgādēvī previously established by Vaidya Yaśōdēva. Lines 4-5 inform us that the above fields were in the share or inheritance of Chachcha (probably one of the sons of the donor). In lines 5-10 are given the boundaries of the fields and of the two shops. Lines 10-11 tell us that the fields were granted for the increase of religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents, as also for the repairs and maintenance of the above temples. In lines 12-13, the allotment of the fields and the share of their produce is made. The fifteenth or the last line tells us that the inscription was engraved by Vṛddhināga, son of Vaidya Giyaka.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री⁷ नमः शिवाय ॥ सं २०० ७ भाद्रपदशुद्ध ८ अश्विदि(स्मिन्दि)वसे
परममहाकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीह(ध)वलयदेवप्रवर्ध(हं)-
- 2 मानराज्ये । गुहिलपुत्राणां श्रीह(ध)निकस्योपभु[व्य]मानायां ह(ध)वगर्तायां
वास्तव्यवैद्यगीयकनागदामपुत्रनैगम-
- 3 जाल्य(त्यः) श्रीमहणिवपौरसामान्यदेवदायत्वेन अक्षयनीमी(वीं) प्रयच्छति
पालीयस्य स्मरितदेवद्रोणीप्रतिष्ठापितस्य देवाधिदेवमहामहे-

¹ Above Vol. VII, p 207.

² Names ending in *appa* generally denote the names of persons of South India, for instance, *appa* (above, VI, 117), *Tailappa* (*ibid*, III, 271), *Dhōrappa* (*ibid*, II, 217), *Dhādīyappa* (*ibid*, II, 217), etc. Such instances are rare in northern India. The name Dhavalappa also occurs in a grant of Krishpa II (*ibid*, I, 53), but he must be a different person.

³ Above, Vol. XII, p 14

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p 22.

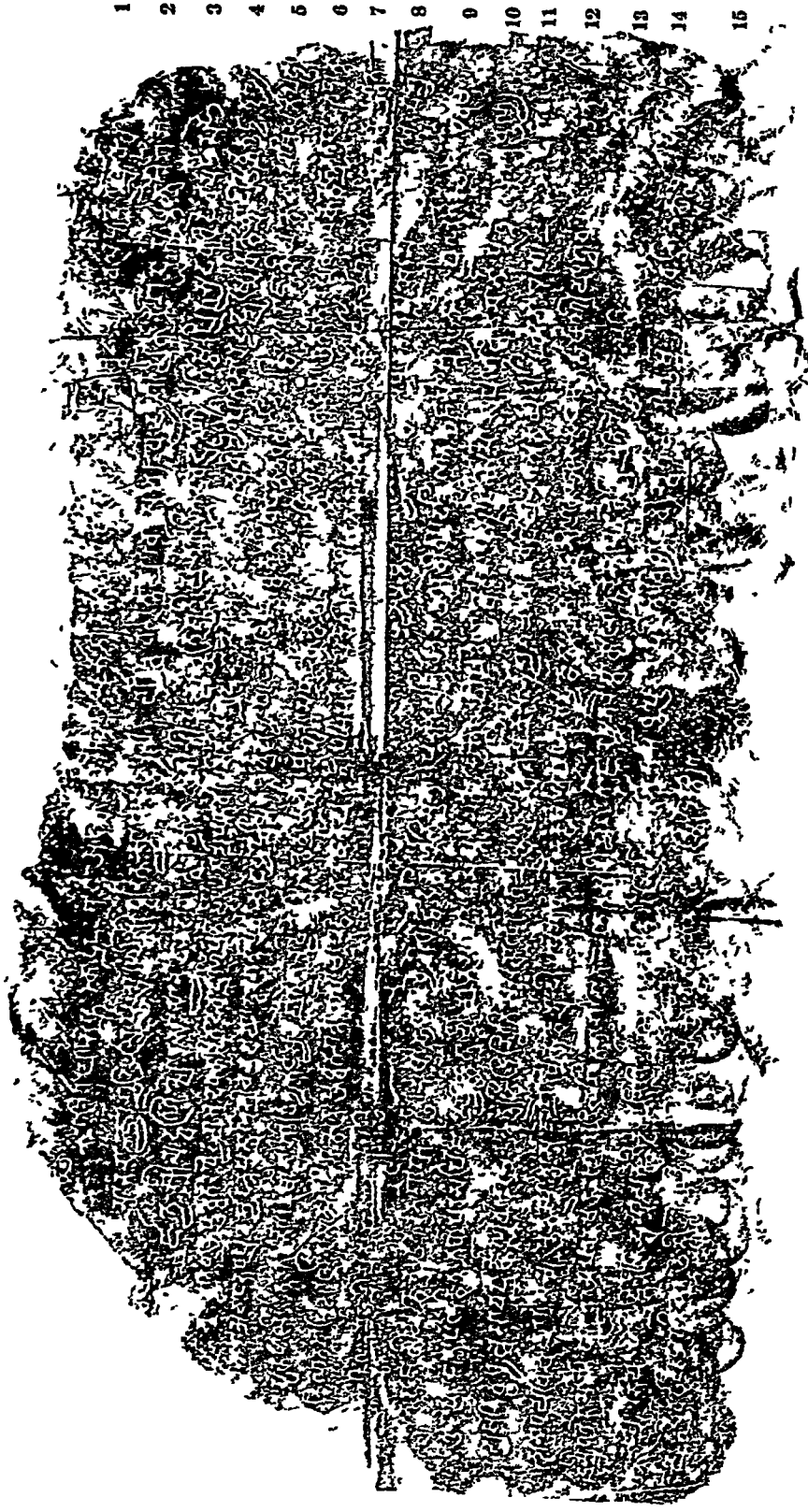
⁵ From the impression.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

- 4 स्व(श्च)रस्य । तथा च पु(पू)र्वतरवैद्यस(शो)देवकारितदेवद्रोणीप्रतिष्ठा-
पिताया घटवासिनीनामश्रीदुर्गादेव्या अर्द्धाङ्गत(तः) । आत्मीयस्ववीर्योत्पन्नो-
(न्ना) सारस्यद्रैष्मिकचेत्तादी'पूर्वभुज्य(क्त?)सुज्य-
- 5 माना अचाटभटप्रवेश्या [स्व]पुत्राणां श्रीचन्द्रदाया । द्व(ध)वगर्तापु(पू)र्वत-
(तः) सा(शा)[र]द्यद्रै(शै)ष्मिकचेत्तं [1*] यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः [सा]-
वटचेत्तं वकटा च [1*] दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीयचेत्तं । पश्चिमत(तः)
पट्टण-
- 6 प्पकपाक्षी । उत्तरत(तो) वर्त्मा(र्त्तं) । तथा नागादित्यभटा(ट)स्य चाग्रते
(तः) शारद्यद्रै(शै)ष्मिकचेत्तं । पूर्वत(तो) ब्रह्मसोमवाउट^२कचेत्तं वकटा
च ॥ दक्षिणत(तः) तटाकोदकं ॥ उत्तरत(तो) भस्मीकभषकचेत्तं ॥ तथा
द्व(ध)वगर्ता
- 7 दक्षिणत(तो) वाहियालीनाम अरहि(ह)टचेत्तं । पूर्वत(तो) गर्त्ता वर्त्मा
(र्त्तं)च । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय[चे]त्तं । पश्चिमत(तः) पुष्कर(रि)-
णीघाती ॥ उत्त(त्त)रत(तो) वर्त्मा(र्त्तं) ॥ तथा कर्कतटाक^३ चाग्रत'अरहट-
चेत्तं [1*] पूर्वत(तो)
- 8 गर्त्ता । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय(या) अरहटकुक्का(ख्या) । पश्चिमत(तो)
वकटा । उत्त(त्त)रत(तो) राजकीयचेत्तं । तथा अगारवटवकटाकस्य
पृष्ठते(ष्ठतः) काश्यपियचेत्तं । पूर्वत(तो) । विष्णुसोमचेत्तं । दक्षिणत(तः) पश्चि-
९ मत(तो) राजकीयचेत्तं । उत्त(त्त)रत(तो) गोम्यचेत्तं ॥ तथा हटमध्ये वीथो
हे दाक्षिणाभिमुखा(खे) ॥ पूर्वतो(तः) पश्चिमत(तः) [सा]उल्लवीथी । दक्षि-
णत(तो) हटमार्गं(र्गः) । उत्त(त्त)रत(तः) प्रणा[ली] ॥ एवं च-
- 10 तुराघाटनीपल्लवित्तं(त) । तथापरमपि सा(शा)रद्यचेत्तादी(दि) यत्किमपि
तत्त्वमस्तं(स्त)म[च] गुग्गुलदीपतैव्या(ला)र्थं खण्डस्फुटितसमारा(रो)पणार्थं च
माताप(पि)त्तो[रामनच] पुण्य-
- 11 यशोभिहृद्य(द्ध)र्थ(र्थ)माचन्द्रार्काण्यवग्रहमचक्षितिसिधितिसमकाक्षीमतया पुत्रपौ-
त्रान्वयक्रमभोग्यतया च देवदायत्वेन अक्षयनीमि(वि)काधारेण प्र[तिष्ठापि]-
ता(तं) ॥
- 12 अनाधेयविधया ।^५ मम्म(म)पुत्रपौत्रात्मकै(जैः) शैष्मिकचेत्तादी(दिः) सप्तमविभा-
गेन क(क)ष(र्ष)णीया(यः) ॥ सा(शा)रद्यचेत्तादी(दिः) सप्तद्वितीयकहलकुटकेन
क(क)ष(र्ष)णीया(यः) । ह्यवपि चतु-

^१ Read 'शारद्यद्रैष्मिकचेत्तादि'.^२ Read 'वायतोऽरहट'.^३ 'उ' is written below the line.^४ The stroke is redundant.^५ Read 'तटाकस्य'.

DABOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADEVA; [HARSHA-] SAMVAT 207.



- 13 (द्रु)मी(मी)शको¹ [मासि] दातव्यो(व्यः) ॥ अपरकषकै(कै) यथोपरिलिखितभागो दातव्येति² ॥ म(म)दीयगोत्र(व)जैरन्यतरैर्वा कालान्तरैश्च(च)पि क(न) के(कै)चि(चित्) प्रतिसे(षे)धो [न च] व्य(व्यः) । यानी-
- 14 ह संज्ञा(सा)रभयाक्षरेन्द्रैर्हन्ना(ना)नि धर्मायतनीकृतानि [1*] निर्मात्यवान्त- प्रतिमानि तानि [को नाम सा]धु × पुनराददौत [1*]³ विंध्याटवीक्ष(च)- तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन(नः) [1*] कणसर्प⁴भि-
- 15 जायन्ते देवदायं हरं(र)न्ति ये⁵ ॥ उत्कीर्णयं भिषः⁶शौयकसु(च)नुना हृदि- नागेन प्रस(श)स्तिरिति ॥

No 14 —FOUR CHANDELLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL

Impressions of the four inscriptions, edited below, were forwarded to me by Dr Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, who received the plates from the Ruling Chief of Charkhārī State, Bundelkhand, Central India, through the Director General of Archaeology in India: No details as to their provenance were available from the State office records For the sake of convenience, I am here noticing the inscriptions in their chronological order.

A.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF DEVAVARMADEVA [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1108.

This charter is incised on a large copper-plate, 18½" by 12½", with its corners rounded off and weighing 360½ *tolas* The plate is surmounted by a copper-hook, 2½" long, which is rivetted to it and holds a ring 2½" in diameter Just below this is carved the figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi with an elephant on each side pouring water on her head with raised trunk. Under her seat is inscribed the sign-manual *Śrīmad-Devavarmadevaḥ sva-hastāḥ* in two lines. The figure occupies a space, 4 inches long and 3 inches high, just in the middle of the first 6 lines. Each complete line is on the average 16" long

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī characters, their average size being ¾" The language is Sanskrit But there are numerous mistakes in spelling, *etc*, some of which appear to be due to the oversight of the engraver There is a palpable instance of the latter being influenced by local *patois*, viz, the Bundelkhandī Hindi in which *yē* is still used for the Sanskrit *yē*, of which it is an exact equivalent In line 21 the engraver had used the correct form but in the next line the more familiar vernacular word asserted itself The orthographical peculiarities are similar to those which the late Dr Kielhorn pointed out in editing another copper-plate charter of the same king issued a year before the present one⁷ The latter was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death, while the present record was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse for the religious benefit of himself and

¹ Probably this word is connected with *dramma*² Read व्य रति³ Metre, *Indravajrā*⁴ Read सर्पा ि⁵ Metre, *Anushṭubh*⁶ Read सिषग.⁷ *Ind Ant*; Vol. XVI, p 206

his parents The date of this record is Samvat 1108 Mārgaśīra śudī 15, Sōma-dina.¹ On this day the Chandēlla king Dēvavarmadēva, Lord of Kālīnjara, meditating on the feet of Vijayapālādēva who meditated on the feet of Vidyādhara-dēva, offered water to the names of his ancestors, worshipped Śūlapāni or Śiva and gave the village Bhūtapallikā, situated on the bank of the Yamunā river in the *viśaya* of Nava-rāshṭra-maṇḍala, to Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇakana of the Kṛṣṇapātrēya gōtra with 3 *pravaras* whose ancestors had emigrated from Kum-bhaṭibhaṭagrāma This Brāhmana was ever ready to expound the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa, the Purāṇas and Mīmāṃsā and was devoted to *śat-karma* (*śat-karm-ābhivṛata*), the prominent mention of which leads me to infer that he practised Yōga,² which is more awe-inspiring than the ordinary six³ duties of a Brāhmana

The localities mentioned in this record have not yet been identified, excepting Kālīnjara, whence the record was issued, and the Yamunā river on whose bank the village of Bhūtapallikā was situated Both of them, viz, the fort of Kālīnjara and the river Yamunā or Jumnā are too well known to require identification. The mention of the latter indicates sufficiently the locality of the village and the district in which it was included. Dēvavarmadēva was the 12th king of the Chandēlla dynasty and, if this record shows anything in regard to his capital and extent of his dominions, it indicates that he lived in the Kālīnjara fort and that his *rāj* extended at least up to the Jumnā in the north But almost the same conclusion is derivable from his other record referred to before and those of his predecessors, an account of which has been given by the late Dr V. A. Smith in his exhaustive essay on the history and coinage of the Chandēlla dynasty⁴ But it may be noted here that in his zeal to show the great antiquity of the Chandēlla dynasty and its kingdom Jējākabhukti—the designation was later on changed to Jajhauti and taken as given after Jējāka or Jayaśakti, the third king of the line—he has fallen into a blunder, to which enthusiasts, howsoever great, are sometimes liable In his article he has attempted to prove that *Chih-chi-i'o*, visited and described by Yuan Chwang in 641 or 642 A.D., was no other than Jijhōti This would mean that the country was named after a king, who was born about 200 years later, as according to him⁵ Jējāka ascended the throne about 860 A.D.

TEXT.

- 1 ओ नमः शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्च)र-
श्रीविद्याधरदेवः(व)पादानुध्यातः(त)परमभट्टा-
- 2 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्च)रः(र)श्रीमद्विजयपालदेवः(व)पादानु(नु)ध्यातः(त)पर-
मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
- 3 परमेस्व(श्च)रः(र)श्रीकालंजराधिपतिः(ति)श्रीमद्देववर्मदेवः(व)पादानां मङ्गो(ङ्गा)-
प्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स-

¹ This date is irregular According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, V. S 1108, Mārgaśīra śū, 15 fell on Wednesday, the 20th November of A.D 1051, with no lunar eclipse on that date. The date in V, १५, 1108 would correspond to Tuesday, the 8th December, A.D 1052, when there was a lunar eclipse.

² The six *haja* yōga practices are

Dhauri banti talhā nāli nauliki trālakas=talhā |

kapala bhāli ch-aṭṭani śaṭ-karmāni samācharē ||

³ See Apte's *Sanskrit Dictionary* under *śaṭ-karma*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXXII, pp 114 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* p 131 'The kingdom was known as Jajāhūti (Jajāhōti, Jijhōti),

⁶ *Ibid.*, p 127.

- 4 स्वत्वरसहस्रैके षष्टोत्तरशताधिके अंकतोपि ११०८ मार्गसिर(शीर्ष)स(शु)दि
१५ सोमदिन(ने) [1*] अद्येह ओ-
- 5 कालिजरात(त्) इत्यस्मिन्क ले वर्त्तमाने सा(शा)सनदाता नास्त्रामव(१)
एकाङ्क[1*] सू(शू)द्रकैव(क इव) निसि(शि)तासिधारादा-
- 6 रितारिदगः विस्त्र(ष्णु)रिव सधरधरा(धराधर)कन्दरगुफा(हा)न्तरालयस(शो)ध-
वलितदिग्वधूवदनं(नः) व(व)लिकर्णयि(र्णवि)व क-
- 7 नकगोधरादानविध्या(स्था)ता(त)कीर्त्ति[] युधिष्ठिरैव(र इव) सत्यसौ(शौ)चगुरुद्वि
जदेवशुसू(शू)धारतर(तो)नङ्गमिव(इव) रूपसौभाग्ययुक्त(क्तः) परकुलःङ्गनाव-
(व)न्मु[1*]
- 8 सुनिरिव विदितात्मा काव्याल(लं)काररुन्द(न्दो)लषा(ज)णगुणगणाधिष्ठान(नः)
युगसमानर्दासत्त्वन्दिजनमङ्कोर्यस(श)तद्वार(रः) निन्ना(यी)सितत-
- 9 स्करादिभयच(भयश्च)न्देलान्वयः परममाह्वैस्त्र(श्च)रः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेस्त्र(श्च)रः ओमदेववर्म्मेदेव(वो) महासामन्तरा-
- 10 जपुत्रवन्दित(त)पाद(दः) रंभागभोपम(मं) संसारमाकल्य(लथ्य) तडित्चञ्चल-
वक्त्रस्यो^१ ज्ञात्वा य(ज)लवुद्द(वुद्द)दोपम(मं) जोवितमिद श्रुत्वा योवनचाञ्ज-
- 11 लिट्कमिवा^२स्थिरत्वं(च्च) सुचिरमपि वसि(उषि)त्वा नास्ति कामेषु तृप्ति[स्सु]
चिरमपि सुविचिन्त्य धर्ममे(ए)को हि साध्याय(सखा) [1*] आ[यु]र्ध्वर्षस(श)तं
नृणा(णा)
- 12 परिमित(तं) रात्र्या [त]दर्श(र्हं) हृत तस्यार्धस्य कदाचिदर्धमधिक(कं) वाहिज्य-
(वार्धक्य)वालि(बाल्ये) म(ग)त [1*] से(शे)षं व्याधिजराधियोगमरणैः सेवादभि-
र्क्षीयते ॥^४
- 13 जीवे वारितरङ्गचञ्चलवलैः(तरे) सौख्यं कुतः प्राणिना(नाम्) ॥[११॥*]^५ एवं
संसारधर्ममेको(कं) हि भसा(शा)स्त्र(श्च)त ज्ञात्वा दानमतिवके (१)
[स्त्र]भोगावा[म]-
- 14 नवगाष्ट्रमण्डलविधये यमुनातटे भूतपत्निकानामग्रामोय(यं) सोमातृणकाष्ठदो^६पर्य-
न्तं(न्तः) ओदेववर्म्मेन(वर्म्मेणा) अद्यः(द्य) पौर्णमासोमग्राह्ये
- 15 कौटिलोर्थे ज्ञात्वा पितृतर्पणं [च] कृत्वा ओसू(शू)लपाणिदेवमर्स्त्रं(र्चं)यित्वा
यथाविधि च धु(ङ्)त्वा मातापितृचात्मन(पितरोरत्मान)श्च पुन्य(ण्य)यसो(शो)
विहृदये[ति](इति) कुम्भटोभट-
- 16 ग्रामविनिर्माताय कृष्णात्रेयस्य(स)गोत्राय अत्रिअर्चनानससोवास(श्यावाश्चेति)^७स्तुः-
(त्रि)प्रवराय वट्ट(वाट्ट)चसा(शा)स्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपण्डित-ओजयस्त्रामिपौत्राय
पण्डि-

^१ Read °दशिलाह° (?)^२ Read योवर्न च चपायलननलनिन्दुवद° (?)^३ Metre, Śārdūlav kṛidīa^४ See Max Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 197.^५ Read इतिचञ्चला चक्षी°^६ Strokes not required,^७ Read °काष्ठगोचर°.

- 17 तः(त)श्रीसोमिस्क(श्व)रपुत्राय पडितः(त)श्रीकिष्कनः(नाय) वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराण-
मोमांसाव्याख्या]नतत्पराय षड्दर्माभिरताय त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाय
- 18 आश्र(शास)न¹ प्रदत्तं(त्तः) यथा दीयम(मा)नस्य भागभोगकरहिरन्य(ण्य)दण्डा-
दायादिकुवितान्वचितं(कमुचितानुचित)प्रभृतयस्तत्सर्वमस्योपनेतव्यं ॥ सर्वान्ये-
(ने)तान्म(न्मा)-
- 19 विनो(नः) पार्थिवेन्द्रा[न²] भूयो भूयः(यो) याचते रामभद्रः [1^{*}] सामान्योयं-
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणा काले २ पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।[1२॥*] भूमी(मि) यः प्रति-
गृह्णा(ह्मा)ति ।³ यश्च
- 20 भूमि प्रयच्छा(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्मणौ ।² नियतौ स्वर्गगा-
मिनौ [॥३॥*] षष्ठि वर्षं(षष्टिं वर्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1^{*}]
अ(प्रा)च्छेता(त्ता) चान्म(नुम)न्ता व्व(च) तने(तान्ये)-
- 21 व नरक(के) वये(से)त(त्) ।[1४॥*] स्वदत्तां(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) [वा] ।² ये(यो)
हरन्ति(हरित) वसुन्धरा । स्वा(श्वा)नयोनिश(श)तं गत्वा ।² चाण्डालेष्व-
भिजायते ।[1५॥*] विंध्यटवीष्वतीयासु शुष्ककोटर-
- 22 वासिनः [1^{*}] मरुसर्पाभिजायन्ते ।² जे(धे) हरन्ति रसुद्धचा³ ।[1६॥*] वापी-
कु(कू)पसहस्राणि ।² अश्वमेधस(श)तानि च [1^{*}] गवां कीटिप्रदानेन
भूमिहर्ता न
- 23 शुध्यति ॥[७॥*] मङ्गलं महाश्रीः । अक्षपटलिकयशोभटेन लिखितं ॥

B.—CHARKHARI PLATES OF PARAMARDDIDEVA. [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT
1236.

These are two copper-plates having raised rims ($\frac{3}{8}$ " high) rivetted to them. Each plate weighs 180½ *tolas*, but their sizes differ a little, the first measuring 14½" by 11½" and the second 14½" by 10½". The former contains 18 lines of writing against 14 of the latter. On the first plate there is a figure of *Lakshmi* in the middle of the first three lines, and at the bottom, a round hole in the middle of the last line. In the second plate space was left for a hole, but it was never made and hence the plates were not strung together as was originally intended. The size of the letters in the first plate is $\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are smaller and more beautiful than those in the second plate, to cover the whole of which the engraver *Pālhaṇa*, a skilful artisan, as he calls himself, had had to raise the size to $\frac{3}{8}$ ". In the case of the *Mahōbā* plates of Samvat 1230,⁴ I remarked how *Pālhaṇa* worked up his way from the position of a *pīṭalāhāra* to that of a *vijñānī*, and this time, *i.e.*, six years later, he raised himself to the position of a *vardagdhī-vivakarma*⁵ (l. 32). Despite this, there is hardly any improvement in his engraving. The fact remains that the

¹ Read शासनेन.

² *Daṇḍa* not required

³ Read वसुन्धरा.

⁴ *Ahva*, Vol. XVI, p. 10

⁵ [The *Icholihāwar* plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 208 ff., l. 36) also give this epithet.—Ed.]

letters *va*, *dha*, *cha* and *ra* have been so formed as to cause confusion with one another, for instance, in 1 4 *Paramarddīdēvō* has been engraved as *Paramarddīdērō* *Ba* has not been at all distinguished from *va* and the symbol for the medial *u* has been sometimes so broadened as to give the appearance of a *ta*, e.g., *bhūtvā* (l 17) In the text letters or their parts are, in some cases, omitted in consequence of which the sense is also affected The *anusvāra* and the *rēpha* have been in many cases omitted through sheer inattention, cf *śhat-tri[m*]sa°* (l 8) and *Prithivīa[r*]mma°* (l 3) On the whole the record is well written. The language is Sanskrit and the text is similar to the one found in other records of the same king The composer of the record or rather the adopter of the prescribed form, with necessary changes, was one Śubhānamda Vāstavya, who was probably a relative of Prithvīdhara Vāstavya, the writer of some of the previous records of *Paramarddīdēva*

This charter was issued from *Vilāsapura* and records the grant of *Sagaudō* village situated in the district of *Kirāyīḍa* to a number of *Brāhmanas*, whose forefathers had immigrated from *Mutāutha-Bhattāgrahāra*, by the *P M P Paramamāhēśvara Paramarddīdēva*, meditating on the feet of the *P M P Madanavarmadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P. Prithvīvarmadēva*, descended from the heroes *Jayaśakti* and *Vijayaśakti* of the *Chandrātrēya* (*Chandēlla*) lineage The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents on Monday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* in the *Vikrama-Samvat* 1236¹ which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th March 1178 A D The record does not supply any new information worth being mentioned and which is not given in the numerous inscriptions² of this king which have already been found [It is interesting to observe here that in the gift-village exception was made of the five *halas* of land gifted to Buddha (l 14) for that would show that a Buddhist monastery was in existence there and was endowed with that land.—Ed.]

Of the localities mentioned in it, *Kālāṅjara* is too well known to require identification *Kirāyīḍa* may be *Kirāḍī*, 5 miles from *Mahōbā*. I have not been able to trace *Vilāsapura*, *Sagaudō* and *Mutāutha* villages.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 [श्री] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्वाद्यन्विष्टं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां
वशयन्द् इवीज्जलः ॥ [१॥*] तच्च प्रवर्द्धमा-
- 2 ने विरोधिविजयि(य)भ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिरा-
- 3 जपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवम्भ(भी)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
मदनवर्मादेवपा-
- 4 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममहिष्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्री-
मत्परमर्हिदेरो(वो) विजयी ॥ स पष

¹ This must be taken as the current year.

² See above, Vol I, p. 208, Vol IV, pp 157 ff, Vol XVI, p 9, *Ind Ant.*, Vol XIX, p 37, Vol XXV, 206 ; Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74, 173, 174, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol XVII, p 313

- 5 दुर्विपद्मतरप्रतापतापे(पि)तसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवध्व(धू)मिर(ध) वश(स)न्धराश्व-
राकुला परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्मलीकृतमतेः(तिः) । किरायि-
- 6 उविषयःन्तःपातिसगौडोग्रामोपगतान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणानन्या(न्यां)श्च मान्यानधिकता-
न्कुटुम्बि(म्बि)कायस्थद्रुतवैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदचण्डालपर्य-
- 7 न्तान्सर्वान्सम्बो(म्बो)धयति समान्नापयते(ति) चा[स्तु]षः सम्बिदितं यथोपरि-
लिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सस्यावरजङ्गमः साधजङ्घो भूतभ-
- 8 विष्यद्वत्(त्त)माननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशस्यास्माभिर्विलासपुरे
षट्त्रि(ट्त्रि)शदधिकशतद्वयोपेतसहस्रतमे
- 9 सम्बत्सरे चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे श(स)मस्यान्तिथावद्धतोपि स(सं)घत(त्) १२३६
चैत्रशुदि ७ भो(सो)मवारे पुष्यतीर्थोदकेन वि-
- 10 धिषत्त्वा देवादीन्सन्तर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसर(रं) चराचरगुरु(रं) भगवन्त(न्तं)
भवानोपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुनि हुत्वा माता-
- 11 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुष्यशोविष्ठयै । सुताउद्यमद्वाराहारविनिर्गतिभ्यो वत्सगोदेभ्यो
वत्सभाग्'वच्यवना-
- 12 प्रवानौब्ध्या(जा)मदग्न्येतिपञ्चप्रवरेभ्योह्य(भ्यश्च)दोगशाखाध्यायि[भ्यो] नानाप्रपो^१
पौत्रभ्यो नामा(ना)पो^१(पौ)त्रेभ्यो नाना-
- 13 पुत्रेभ्यो नानानामशर्मभ्यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्ति-
वाचमपूर्वञ्चन्द्रार्क्षसम-
- 14 काल(त्) पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि देवश्रीवी(वी)हसत्पञ्चहस्तानि व(व)हिःकृ(ष्ण)त्
से(शे)पभूमिः शासनीकृत्य प्रद-
- 15 त्ता । मध्ये ॥ मि । दावरपुत्र ति । सोमेकस्य पदद्वयम(म्) । ति ।
वाह्नेपुत्र ति । स्वपटस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । पापेषु-
- 16 च ति । रतनस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । सूक्ष्मपुत्र ति । सीढस्य पदमे-
कम(म्) । इति मत्वा भवद्विराज्ञाश्व(श्व)वणपिवे-
- 17 ये(विधेयै)भूत्वा भागभोगपशुहिरण्यकरशुल्कादि सर्व्वमस्त्रो(स्त्रो)^२ ससुपनेतव्य(व्यं)
[।*] तदेननवा(र) सम(मं)दिरप्राका-
- 18 र(र) सनिर्गमप्रवेश(श) ससर्व्वीशनेक्षुर्पासकुशु(सु)मस(श)णान्नमधूकादिभूरुह(हं)
सवनःश्वनि-

^१ The letter पो is superfluous^२ [Plural ought to have been employed.—Fd.]

Second Plate

- 19 निधानं सलोहलवणतृणप[र्णा]द्याकरं समृगवे(वि)हङ्ग[म]जलचरं सकादकपंक-
वपिग(वणिग्)वास्तव्यं स-
- 20 कावे(ष्टे)ष्टिकापापाण घगोकुलमपरै(रै)रपिसीमान्त[र्ग]तैव(र्व)स्तुभिः सहितं
सवा(वा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुञ्जा(ञ्जा)-
- 21 मामं(नस्य)^२ के(क)र्षता(तः)^३ कष(र्ष)यतो^२ दानाधानविक्रयस्वा कुर्वतो^३ न
केनाच(नचि)त्काचिद्वा(द् वा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्र(त्र) च राजरा-
- 22 जपुरुषाटविक^३चाटादिभिः संस्वमाभाव्य परिहर्त्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्य(द्य)-
मनाहार्यञ्चेति
- 23 भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमित(ति) । उक्तञ्च ॥ शङ्खभद्राश(स)नं च्छत्रं
वराखा वरवारणाः । भू-
- 24 मिदानस्य पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गः पुरदरं(न्दर) ॥[२॥*] सौवर्णा यत्र प्राशा-
(सा)दा चा(द्या)शार्द्धा(द्वा)रा[ः]* स्वकामदाः । गन्धर्वा-
- 25 परसो यत्र तत्र गच्छन्ति भूमिदाः ॥[३॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिष्ठह्णाति
यद्य भूमिं प्रयच्छे(च्छे)ति । उभौ तो (तौ)
- 26 पुण्यकर्माणौ नियत स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[४॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगराहि(दि)भिः । यस्य
- 27 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लं) ॥[५॥*] सर्वानेताभ्यावे(वि)मः
पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते
- 28 रामभद्र । सामान्योय(यं) धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी[यो] भव-
द्भिरिति^१ ॥(°)द्भिः ॥ इति ॥[६॥*] स्वहस्ता(स्तो)-
- 29 य(य) महाराजश्रीपरमर्हिदेवस्य मतमम ॥ विशदगुणगणो(णौ)घोत्रामवास्त-
व्यव(वं)-
- 30 [श्री] विदितसकलशास्त्रः श्रीशुभानन्दनामा । अलिखदवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्म-
लेखी स्फुटलखितनिवेशि(शै)रक्षरि(रै)स्तामपट्टम(म्) ॥[७॥*] रजपालस्य पुत्रेण
पाञ्चणे-
- 32 न च^१ सि(शि)त्पिना । उत्कीर्णा वर्णघटना वैदर्भीविस्त्र(श्च)कर्माणा
॥[८॥*] मङ्गलमहाथीः ॥

^१ This expression appears to be new Its exact implication is not understood [Does it mean, "together with potter's mud and what has been left by merchants?" *Vāstavya* is applied to what is left as a worthless remainder on any spot—Ed.]

^२ [Plural should be used—Ed.]

^३ *Ājanka* I took to be "wild tribes", see above, Vol. XVI, p. 14, n. 1, but it indicates a Government Officer, viz., one in charge of the forest and wild tribes. This finds a mention even in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* See Dr. Shama Sastri's Sanskrit Text, p. 254.

**G.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF VIRAVARMADĒVA · [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT
1311.**

The present charter is the earliest record of the Chandĕlla king Viravarmadĕva yet found. The copper-plate on which it is engraved measures 15½" by 11½" and weighs 230½ tolas. It has a raised rim, ½" in height, rivetted with nails all round it. In the middle of the first six lines there is a seated figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi, holding lotus flowers in the two upper, and water pots in the two lower, hands. Over her head is a semi-circular hole apparently meant for a ring, which is wanting. There are 19 lines of writing with well formed letters the size of which is ½" on an average.

The language is Sanskrit and the orthographical peculiarities are the same as found in other Chandĕlla records published before. The record is not free from spelling and other mistakes, but they are comparatively fewer than in other similar records of the family.

The charter was issued from Vilāsapura by the P M P Viravarmadĕva the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, and the Lord of Kālāñjara, son of the P M P Trailōkyavarman, son of the P M P Paramarddĕva, son of the P M P Madanavarmadĕva, descended from Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, the famous heroes belonging to the Chandrātreyā (Chandĕlla) lineage. It records the grant of Tumuturnā village in the Dāhi vishaya to Rāūta Abhi, son of Rāūta Haripāla, son of Rāūta Jagadĕva, son of Rāūta Dīvasamū of the Kāśyapa gōtra belonging to the family of Chandrĕśvara, on Āsvina śudi 8, Sōmavāra, Samvat 1311, which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 21st September 1254 A.D. The grantee is stated to have performed a deed of valour in a tussle with Dabhyuhadavarman in the battle of Sōndhi, as a recognition whereof this grant appears to have been made in spite of the fact that the purpose has been recorded as one for increasing the religious merit of the grantor Viravarmadĕva and his parents. In the present case the grantee does not appear to have been a Brāhmana, as the omission of his *pravaras* indicates. Moreover, the family name Chandrĕśvara and the title Rāūta point to the same conclusion. Apparently Sōndhi is identical with Seondhā fort, now called Kanhārgadh, lying on the banks of the Sind river in the Datta State, whence it took its name. It is stated in the State Gazetteer (Luard's, p. 129) that "Seondhā is certainly an old town as the remains of the earlier settlement can be traced close to the present town. It has been suggested as the Sarua fort taken by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018 when in pursuit of Chand Rai". Our record refers to a battle a little more than a hundred years later, apparently between members of the same lineage, viz., the Chandĕllas, if the termination of the opponent's name Dabhyuhadavarman would indicate anything to that effect. It must have been a battle of some importance to have been referred to as *sangrāma* or war. That was the time of disturbance as Viravarmadĕva's grandfather Paramarddĕva had been defeated by Prithvirāja Chāhamāna in 1182 A.D. In fact the late Dr V. A. Smith remarks that "the history of the Chandĕlla dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India ends in 1203 A.D. with the death of Parmāl (Paramarddĕva) and the capture of Kālāñjara and Mahōbā by the Muhammadan invaders. Trailōkyavarman succeeded his father Parmāl as a local chieftain holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom and in due course was succeeded by Viravarman and Bhōjavarman".

The other villages referred to in this record have not been traced yet.

¹ *Ind Ant.*, Vol XXXVII, p 140.

TEXT

- 1 ॥ ओं मिडिः ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्निश्वं विश्वेश्वरसिरे(शिरो)धृतः ॥¹ चन्द्राते
(ने)यनरेन्द्राणा वंस(श)रुद्र इवोच्चल. ॥[१॥*]
- 2 तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभा(भा)जिष्णु(ष्णु)जयस(श)क्तिविजयस(श)[क्त्या]दिवी
राविर्भावभाश्च(स्त्र)रे
- 3 परमभट्टार[क*]महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्त्मदेवपादानुध्यात्(त) ।¹ परम-
[भ*]ट्टारकम-
- 4 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्धिदेवपादानुध्यात ।¹ परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराज-
- 5 परमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीत्रैलोक्यवर्त्मदेवपादानुध्यात ।¹ परमभट्टारकमहा-
- 6 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालजराधिपतिमहाराजयो(श्री)महो-
- 7 रवर्त्मदेवो विजयी [१*] स एष दुवि(र्वि)पहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः
कुलवधूमिव निराकुलां वसुं-
- 8 धरां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्मलीकृतमति. ॥ डाडीविपयान्तःप[१*]तिदु-
मुटुमाग्रामोपगता-
- 9 न(न्) वा(वा)क्षणानन्यांश्च मान्यान(न्) कुटुंबि(वि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमेदचाण्डाल-
पय(य)न्तान(न्) समस्तप्रजालोकान्सर्वो(वी)ध-
- 10 यति समाजा(जा)पयति च अस्तु व. स(स)विदितं यद्योपरिलिखितोयं
ग्रामः सजल[स्य]ल[१*] सस्यावरजगमः
- 11 स्वसीमावच्छिन्न(न्नः) साधकर्द्धी(भृङ्ग(तभ)विष्यतव(ह)र्तमाननि से(शे)षादाय-
सहितः प्रतिपिद्वद्या(चा)टादिप्रवेस(श)द्यास्माभिः श्री-
- 12 विलासपुरे संवत(त्) १३११ आश्विनशुदि ८ सोमवारे पुष्यतीर्थोदकेन स्नात्वा
भास्करपूजापुर(रः)सर मातापित्रोरा-
- 13 त्तनः पुष्ययशोविवर्द्धये(वृद्धये) ।¹ व(चं)द्वेष्टरान्वये क[१*] स्व(श्य)पगोत्राय
राउतदेवप्रभूपौत्राय राउतनगदेवपौत्राय राउतहरि-
- 14 पालपुत्राय सीधीसंग्रामे दभ्युहडवर्मयुद्धे कृतवीर्यातिस(श)ये प्रशा(सा)दे राउत-
प्रभिनाम्ने शासनीक(क)त्य प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
- 15 भवद्विराजा(जा)श्रव[ण*]विधेयैर्मत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै² समुपनेतव्यं
तदेनमस्य ग्राम समंदिरप्राकारं सनि[र्ग]मप्र-
- 16 वंस(श) [स*]वाद्या(वाद्या)भ्यन्तरादाय भुंजानस्य वा(वा)धा केनापि न
कार्या । अत्र च । राजगजपुरुषादिभिः स्वस्वमाभाव्य(व्यं) परिहा(ह)-
तव्यमि-

- 17 द चास्मत्(द्)दानमनाहार्यं चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयं । उक्तं
च । श्रद्धं भद्रासनं छत्रं वरास्त्रा(श्वा) धरवारणाः । भूमिदा-
18 न[स्य] पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदर ।[१२॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(स्त्रा)ति
यच्च(य) भूमिं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति ।[*] उभौ तौ पुन्य(य्य)कर्माणी नियतौ
स्वर्गगामि-
19 नौ । [१३॥*] समवंशेक्षतिक्षीणे कीपि राजा भविष्यति ।[*] तस्य
दासस्य दासोहं मम की[र्त्ति]र्ण(र्त्ति न) लोपयेत्(त्) ॥[१४॥*] सुभ(शुभं)
'भवतु ॥

D.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF HAMMIRAVARMADEVA · [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT
1346.

This is the first copper-plate charter of the Chandōlla king Hammīravarmadēva, whom I brought to notice, a decade ago, in my *Damoh Dipaka*, the *Hindī Gazetteer* of the Damoh district in the Central Provinces, from a *satī* record which I found in the village Bamhni of that district¹ When I visited the Ajayagadh fort, I came upon another *satī* stone record² mentioning his name, which I included in the new account³ of the Ajayagadh fort inscriptions revised since the visit of General Sir Alexander Cunningham as detailed in his *Survey Report*, Vol. XXI. It appears to me that the Hamirpur district of the United Provinces, in which Mahōbā, the civil capital of the Chandōllas, is included, derives its name from this Chandōlla king Of course, this district which borders on the Charkhārī State, took its name from the town of Hamirpur, which is situated on the confluence of the Jumnā and the Betwā, 110 miles north-west of Allahābād

The record is engraved on a copper-plate 11½" long and 8½" broad, with a raised rim ½" in height running all round the plate and secured on the latter by nails Its weight is 48 *tolas* only. In the middle of the first four lines of writing there is a figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi holding lotuses and water pots On the top of the figure there is a hole for a ring which was either not put in or has been taken off and lost. The plate shows signs of corroding without serious damage to letters, which are rather small, their average size being ¼". The engraving is badly executed.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, the style being in the prescribed form used by the Chandōllas, but, from what little the writer composed, it is clear that he was no Sanskritist, as he has committed many spelling as well as grammatical mistakes The insertion of the title *Sāhī* against the names of all the kings mentioned indicates the growing Muhammadan influence, which finally ousted the Chandōllas, apparently during the reign of the grantor of this very charter. Hammīravarmadēva, who styled himself as the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Sāhī Rājā*.

¹ See above, Vol. XVI, p 10, f. n 4

² The record runs as follows —

L 1 संवत्(त्) १३६८ समये यावत्सुदि ६ शुभे

L 2. सती वालसुभट्ट मेने सा सुभौ श्रीमहा-

L. ३. राजश्रीहमीरवर्मादेवराज्ये सुभौ मंग-

L. 4 छं करोति

³ Contributed to *Mādhubī*, a Hindī Journal of Lucknow, see Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2,

āvali-tray-ōpēla,¹ Lord of Kālāñjara, meditating on the feet of the *P M P Sāhi Mahārāja* Viravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Sāhi Mahārāja* Trailōkyavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Sāhi Mahārāja* Paramarddīdēva, announced the grant of Kō(or Ki?)kadagrāma in the *Vēdēsaita-vishaya* to two Brāhmanas who were apparently brothers, on Sunday, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada and the Pushya-nakshatra in the Vikrama Samvat 1346, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th September, 1289 A D.² It will be noticed that in his own case Hammiravarmadēva has left out the grandiloquent title of the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, which he duly attached to his elders. This indicates that either he was fully conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a humbler title, or that he was never recognised as the *Mahārāja* while his elder brother Bhōjavarmadēva was on the throne. In the Ajayagadh fort there is a *satī* record of Samvat 1346, which refers to the reign of Bhōjavarman.³ This copper-plate dated in the same year would therefore point to a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhōjavarman died in the same year before the month of Bhādrapada, when the grant under publication was made.

The document was written by Pam[ḍita*] Raum(Rāma)pāla.

The localities mentioned in the record are not traceable

TEXT

- 1 [ओ] सिद्धि. ॥ जयत्याल्हा(हा)दयन्विश्व विश्वस्वर(श्व)रशिरोधृतः [1*]
चे(च)द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वग्रश्च(च)द्र
- 2 इवोज्जल(लः) ।[1१*] तर्च(च) प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिद्रु(यु)जयश-
क्तिविजयस(श)क्त्यादिरौ(वी)रावे(वि)-
- 3 भ्राव(भवि)भास्वरः(रे) ।⁴ परमभट्टार(र)कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपर[म]-
माहेस्वर(श्वर)मा(सा)हि-
- 4 महाराज[यो]मसन(मत्वर)महि[दि]वपादानुध्यात्(त) ।⁴ परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराज पर-
- 5 मेय्य(श्व)रपरममाहेसरे(श्वर)साहिर(म)हाराजयोमन्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मादेवपादानुध्यात् ॥⁴
परम[भ]ट्टारक[म]हारा-
- 6 जाधिराजपरमेस्व(मेश्व)रपरममाहेसरे(श्वर)साहिमहाराजयोमन्त्रीरवर्म्मादे(दे)वपादा-
नुध्यात्(त) ॥⁴ परमभट्टार-
- 7 के(क)साहिराजाप(व)लीचभो(यो)पेतकाल(लं)जरा[धिप]तिमहाराजयोमह(ह)मी-
रवर्म्मादेवो] विजय(यो) । स एख(ष) रुद्रुर्विषह-

¹This is exactly the title used in the Bamhm *satī* record which I misread as परमभट्टारकेयाधिराजावलीचयोपेत.
See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4

²In Bhādrapada of V.S. 1346, ba. 12 commenced on Sunday at 98 but the *nakshatra* Pushya ended on that day at 23.

³See *Mādhusū*, Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2.

⁴Punctuation unnecessary

- 8 तरप्रतापतावि(पि)तश्र(स)कलरि[पु]कुल(लः) कुलवधूमिव वसुन्धरां निराकुलां
व(प)रिपालयन(न)विकलविवेकनि-
- 9 स(सं)लीकृ(कृ)तमतिसा(र)आभिः ॥¹ वेदेसैयविषयान्त(न्तः)पातिः(ति)कोकडग्राम-
गतान्वाह्मणान्यांश्च(ग्रामोपगतान्वाह्मणानन्याश्च) मानकुटुंबि-
- 10 कायस्थनापितमहरनेदधीवरचांडालप्रजन्तान्सं(मानकुटुस्त्रिकायस्थनापितमहरमेदधी-
वरचाण्डालपर्यन्तान्स)वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च । व(व)स्तु वः
संविदितं यथा(थो)-
- 11 प(र)लिखितोय ग्रामः सजलस्थल(लः) सस्थाय(व)रजंगमम(जंगमः) ससौरा-
(ससोमा)वच्छिन्न(च्छिन्नः) साधऊर्ध्वभूतभविष्यवर्त्तमा-
- 12 ना(न)नि(नि.)[शेषादायसहितः*] र(प्र)ति[धि]जचाटादिक[प्रवेशः*] लोणागर-
पसणरधभूरुहनिधिनिक्षेप(लघणाकरपाषाणवनभूरुहनिधिनिक्षेप)[सहितः*] स-
वाह्माभ्यन्तर(रः) अपरै[रपि] व[स्तु]भिः[*] ।
- 13 संवत्(त्) १३४६ समये ॥¹ भार(द्र)पदप्र(व)दि १२ रवौ ।¹ पुष्यनक्षत्रे ॥¹
भार्द्वा(रद्वा)जगोत्रा[य] ।¹ ठ¹ ।¹ सुभराजप्रपौत्राय ठ ।¹ वि[द्या]-
- 14 ध(र)प्र²पौत्राय ।¹ ठ² ।¹ सठेलपुत्राय ।¹ पं ।¹ श्रीधर ।¹ पं ।¹ ग्रामे
(उभाभ्यां) चा(त्रा)ह्मणाभ्यां को(or को)कडग्रामो . . . तोऽस्मलौ
(आभिः ?) विजा-
- 15 वड ? वाराह्वा ? वापालि . . सकल्पेण(न) प्रदत्त[इ]ति । इति
मत्वा मन्य(भवद्भि)राज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भाग-
- 16 भोगादिकं समुपनेतव्य ॥ बहु(बहु)भिर्व्वसुधां(धा) भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः
[*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिं(मि)त(स्त)-
- 17 स्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ षष्टि(षष्टिं) वर्षमङ्गपा(सहस्रा)णि स्वप्ने(र्गं) वसति
भूमिदः [*] आक्रेता(आच्छेत्ता) वानुमन्ता च तानेव (तान्येव) न-
- 18 रकं व्रजेत् ॥२॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्त्व(त व)स्तु(सुं)धरां [*]
म(स) विष्ठावा(यां) कृ(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जति ॥३॥[*]
- 19 भूमिं वः(यः) प्रतिगृह्णीयात्यस्तु(प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु) भूमिं प्रयच्छति [*]
उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्मण्यौ नियतौ स्वप्न(र्गं)गामिनौ ॥४॥[*] पं रौ-
- 20 पाले[न] लिखितमिति ॥

¹ Punctuation unnecessary² Abbreviation for Thākura or Thakkura.³ Omk. प्र.

५. सिद्धिना। नमस्तस्मै। तदा त्वत्पुत्रस्य सः
 ६. सोऽहं। तत्र प्रवृत्तं नास्ति। तदा त्वत्पुत्रस्य सः
 ७. त्रिवेणारस्य नमस्तस्मै। तदा त्वत्पुत्रस्य सः
 ८. नमस्तस्मै। तदा त्वत्पुत्रस्य सः
 ९. नमस्तस्मै। तदा त्वत्पुत्रस्य सः
 १०. नमस्तस्मै। तदा त्वत्पुत्रस्य सः
 ११. नमस्तस्मै। तदा त्वत्पुत्रस्य सः
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My assistant Mr N Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., has rendered immense help in checking this Index. The figures refer to pages n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions. The following other abbreviations are used —ch=chief; co.=country, di=distinct or division, do=ditto, dy.=dynasty, E.=Eastern; f=female, k=king, m=males; mo=mountain; ri.=river; s. s.=same as, sur.=surname; &.=temple, vi.=village or town, W.=Western

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